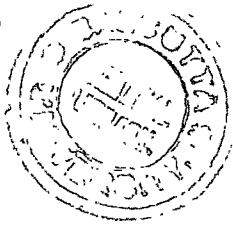


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Editor : ASHOKE CHATTERJEE

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NOTES

THE CRISIS IN AFGHANISTHAN

The International crisis following the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan in late 1979 together with the stand taken by the United States for the preservation of her interests in this area by force if required, has raised the fears of nations who believe in international negotiation and co-operation rather than in confrontation as a means to solve such problems. The Soviet justification of its action being ideological mainly, not to mention the support for this action given by those in power at present in Afghanistan, has given rise to anxiety that this area may become the theatre of a Super Power confrontation in the near future. After the occupation, to some extent relationships between nations have changed in form and context. The carefully nurtured concept of detente has receded to the background somewhat while the precept that aggression by a Super Power need not necessarily be deterred by any steps taken by another Super Power appears to have been re-established. Furthermore, the ideological justification put forward by the USSR has

resulted in the creation of diversity of opinions regarding the event among the members of the United Nations.

Perhaps the most interesting aspect of this crisis is that once again, within recent years, it is West Asia and the Indian Ocean area, particularly the Persian Gulf region, which has become the Zone of conflict and confrontation of the Super Powers. In a sense this region has been instable for quite sometime due to social, economic and political reasons. Rich in resources such as rubber, jute, tea, copper, manganese, silver, coal it has the largest quantum of oil in the World. U. S. capital investments in petro-chemical and oil refining industries is reputed to be very substantial in the Indian Ocean Zone. Necessarily it has become automatically the battleground of Super Powers who are trying to expand their spheres of influence here, both territorially and ideologically. Over the years diverse means have been used to achieve this, whether it be by supply of sophisticated weapons to the states of the region, such as the most powerful missiles, or by training men

in these states by developing their military, scientific and technological potential.

Historically, the importance of this area has always been very great due to a number of reasons. Of foremost importance is the fact that it remains the main channel of communication between the East and the West, having access to the Industrial world as well as to the African and Asian countries for the furtherance of international trade and commerce. Secondly and probably of greater importance, at present is the fact that this area produces about 70 o/o of the world's oil without which the security of all oil-user nations is in jeopardy. Of the Super Powers involved here the U.S. has 7 o/o of the world's oil resources while the USSR has 11 o/o at most. Apart from the vast quantum of oil West Asian oil remains the cheapest fuel in the world to-day and is therefore of tremendous importance as a strategic factor.

It is apparent as to why the Super Powers wish to control this area territorially once these facts are appreciated and thus over the years the USA and USSR have increasingly attempted to expand their spheres of influence in this region. They have increasingly deployed their navies and attempted to establish bases along these routes. However whereas the USA enjoy excellent base-facilities (whether leased or Sovereign bases) in the Indian Ocean eg Diego Garcia, for fuelling, repairs and anchoring, the Soviet Union does not enjoy reliable facilities of this nature in this area. Its naval routes vis a vis approach to the Indian Ocean are full of difficulties eg the approach from the Pacific side (Vladivostok to Singapore) stretches over 4000 miles passing through hostile waters near Korea and Formosa, while from a Black Sea Port the distance would be halved but the ships would have to travel through the Mediterranean Sea

onto the Suez canal, the Red Sea and then get into the Indian Ocean. This route is controlled by the US Sixth Fleet and she has very firm allies along this region which the Soviets lack.

However, the USSR is the only Super Power to possess land borders with Europe, China, South and West Asia as well as having proximity to Japan. It also has cordial relations with many countries in this region. The Soviets only lacked a link to the Indian Ocean. With the occupation of Afghanistan they are within 300 miles approximately of the Indian Ocean to-day. Thus they have established their influence in this area in a very strategic position through decisive, timely intervention. While the U.S.A's influence meanwhile has receded in this region eg with the fall of the Shah in Iran, the new regime are anti-U.S.; on the other hand the presence of Soviet troops in Kabul may support any movements in Iran or other countries of the region, which are led by groups with similar ideology eg the Tudeh Party in Iran who are, pro-moscow communists controlling workers in the principal oil fields of Iran.

It is in this background that the USA has come out from being 'uninvolved' and has categorically stated that "any attempt by any outside force to gain control of the Persian Gulf region will be regarded as an assault on the vital interests of the United States of America. And as such an assault will be repelled by any means necessary, including military force" (Newsweek—Asian edition 14 Feb. 80). Since then the USA has stepped up its aid to Pakistan, forged new ties with Egypt, Israel, Sudan and Saudi Arabia among others and also reinforced the safety and security of naval routes for her oil tankers in this region.

Obviously both the Super Powers will, and

are trying hard to gain advantage over each other in attempting to control locations of strategic importance in this area. There does not seem to be any question of their maintaining a balance of power here. And whatever may be the opinion of the other nations it is clear to all that the crisis in Afghanistan has ceased to be a local problem for quite some time. Equally important perhaps is the appreciation of the fact that the delicate control imposed on themselves by the USA and the USSR may be removed at any moment thereby leading the world into what could be a Nuclear holocaust.

THE MISFITS

A recent appraisal by I.L.O. Sources regarding the plight of second generation migrants in certain European countries who are of 25 years of age and under, reveals certain interesting facts. Being residents mainly of Belgium, France, the Federal Republic of Germany, the Netherlands, Sweden and Switzerland, there are about 4.1 million of these Young people whose cultural, economic and social needs can only be met by a detailed re-evaluation of the migration policy of the countries concerned. These are the children of people who had migrated to these countries as unskilled labour in the main over 25 years ago. They were not very well educated and thus had little or no social status in the new countries where they were employed. Quite a few of them also had language problems as they mainly spoke their particular mother tongues. These people therefore hold the lowest paid jobs generally and their presence made little or no impact on the new societies of which they were now members.

Within 20 years however, a tremendous change took place. Various studies undertaken recently by the I.L.O show that over

this period, in most of the receiving countries various sociological effects are becoming apparent due to these second generation migrants. These changes are to be found in the Social, educational and cultural facets of Society of these countries. Of primary consideration is the fact that most of the second generation migrants are bilingual, having a knowledge of their mother tongue as also the language of the country to which they have migrated. They also have an appreciation of the traditions and culture of the receiving countries. Unlike their parents, they do not have a detailed knowledge or interest in the culture, tradition, language and customs of their country of origin. In fact, in most cases, they are more at home in the receiving country than in the countries from where they migrated. But necessarily they face many problems which are now being investigated as a solution to these is vital in the interest of both the country of employment and the second-generation migrants.

It would be interesting to ascertain some of the problems which have emerged due to these investigations and in order to appreciate the nature of these it is necessary to have some knowledge about the background of the migrants. As most of them came from Turkey, Greece, Portugal and Yugoslavia, among other countries, the migrants were obviously from among the ranks of those who could not get jobs in their countries of origin. In general unskilled, they took the lowest-paid unskilled jobs offered to them in the countries of employment. Their families and particularly their Children have therefore grown up socially handicapped because their parents could neither give them any appreciable social standing, nor education. Thus among the main problems are the influence of these

second-generation migrants on the institutions which make up the social and cultural structure of Society. For example the schools have been slow in adjusting to the importance of teaching the mother tongue of the young migrants within the compulsory school system so that they face language difficulties. Again the different cultural background of these migrants has to be considered when educating them in schools and Vocational Training institutes. In addition to this the second generation migrant faces discrimination because of the socio-cultural status of their parents.

The result of all these factors is that quite a number do not complete their compulsory education when they reach the school-leaving age. This again leads to a further problem, that of their not being able to get Vocational and on-the-job training as most of them do not have the qualifications needed to be accepted into training schemes and apprenticeships, and consequently find themselves in the same type of unskilled jobs as those held by their parents.

Perhaps the most difficult problem lies in relation to employment for during a period of high unemployment in these countries, young migrants are specially hard-hit. The I. L. O. sources state that in the Federal Republic of Germany alone, over 60,000 were jobless while the rate of unemployment in Sweden was double that of local youth (6.9 % to 3.4 %—I.L.O. Information February 1982).

In order to reduce the magnitude of these problems the I. L. O. sponsored several programmes so that integration of second generation migrants, whether in their country of origin, or in the country of employment, may be made easier. Interestingly this generation of migrants has found it easier to iden-

tify themselves with the Society in which they find themselves than that society finds in adjusting itself to their presence. The receiving countries however, are conscious of the risks, as much for society as for the individuals concerned, that may arise from this situation.

To ensure that the young migrants do not necessarily inherit the inferior social and professional status of their parents and also that they may have similar opportunities and treatment available to young nationals of these countries, the I. L. O. has started implementation of projects which aim at improving measures to ease the integration of Second-generation migrants in either the receiving countries or the countries of origin. To begin with an evaluation is being conducted on the ability of those second-generation migrants who have scholastic ability and less social handicaps, to accept appropriate training and thereafter take full employment as instructors for the socially and educationally handicapped young migrants in order to give them suitable Vocational Training so that they would gain better employment.

In the long run some permanent bilateral formula will have to be evolved between both the countries of origin and employment so that these young migrants may be educated and trained with an awareness of their hybrid cultural identity together with the acceptance of the possibility of their returning to their parent's country of origin. For if no solutions are sought to these problems these young people may develop into complete misfits by becoming foreigners in both their Country of origin as also in the country of immigration.

REPRINT

(The Modern Review for January, 1911)

POSITION OF INDIANS IN FOREIGN COUNTRIES

INDIANS IN SOUTH AFRICA

REPRESENTATION BY THE LONDON ALL-INDIA MOSLEM LEAGUE

The London All-India Moslem League has made strong representations to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, on the subject of the "serious disabilities imposed of late upon Indians in South Africa, and as a considerable proportion of the Indian inhabitants of the Protectorate follow the Moslem faith," the League has been moved to take up the cause of Indian labour in South Africa.

The letter quotes the opinions and observations of high officials, including those of Mr. Winston Churchill, pointing out that Indians, more than any one else, have "developed the early beginnings of trade and opened up the first slender means of communication." Further that the construction of the railway from the coast to Lake Victoria Nyanza was carried out only by Indian labourers recruited by Government. The letter says :—

"At one time as many as 25,000 Indians were employed upon the line. The contract for the supply of labour was in the hands of a distinguished Indian Moslem, who has made East Africa his home, and who occupies now a seat on the British East African legislature. The contractual period was three years, and a return passage to the home of each worker,

could be claimed. The labourers were, however, free to remain in the country at the expiration of their contract, and a few of them did so sending for or fetching their wives and families."

Further, that at the present time the railway is chiefly worked by indentured immigrants from India under the same conditions of contract and it is estimated that some 2,000 Indians are so employed.

"The evidence laid before the important Committee appointed by the Secretary of State with Lord Sanderson as Chairman, to consider the question of Emigration from India to the Crown Colonies and Protectorates shows that a large Indian staff is essential to the working of the line. 'We could not do without them', said the manager of the line. There was need for the continuance of Indian traders in the country, since their enterprise enable articles of European use to be obtained at moderate prices."

The letter quotes the following from Sir James Hays—Sadler's despatch to the Colonial Office :—

"The Protectorate has everything to gain from Indian Settlement, both in the actual

development it will itself bring about and in the stimulating effect it will have on production by the natives, on whom and the Indians, East Africa must, whatever be the conditions of the uplands, mainly depend for the production and development of its economic resources."

Inter alia The Moslem League takes exception to the reservation of the Shire Highlands area for European settlers, and the letter brings forward evidence to show that European settlers have not taken full advantage of this reservation. In conclusion, the letter States :—

My Committee regret the necessity to place before his Lordship so many facts and arguments, but they feel that the great Imperial importance of the subject fully justifies a detailed exposition of the Indian case. It may be convenient for his lordship to have set out with all brevity, the measures for the restoration of Indian rights and the amelioration of grievances which we pray His Majesty's Government to direct.

(A) The recognition that the attempts to colonize the upland tracts by white labour have failed, and that they constitute a grave injustice to the Indian community, with its long record of invaluable work in developing the Protectorate and its domicile in the country long before the advent of British rule going back indeed, as Sri Harry Johnson has observed, to "pre-historic times" in the history of East Africa. Such recognition would involve a reversal of the present policy of extension, and adhesion in practice and not merely in theory to the principle laid down by his Lordship's predecessor that it is not consonant with the Views of His Majesty's Government to impose legal restrictions (in

the matter of renting or acquiring land) on any particular section of the Community.

(B) The giving of full and unqualified effect to the recommendation of the Sanderson Committee that indentured immigration from India to assist private enterprises should only be allowed on condition that the labourer on completion of his contract is free to remain in East Africa and settle where he pleases.

(C) That in view of the arrested development of the Protectorate and its dependence on the British exchequer, Indian Settlers should be granted Crown lands on terms similar to those prevailing in many parts of India, thus yielding a substantial direct revenue to the country in addition to that obtainable from its agricultural development.

(D) The Imperial application of the Emigration Act as between people of European or mixed birth and Indians ; exclusions to be based on ground entirely personal to the individual, as set forth in the Act, and not on these of race.

(E) The Exclusion of Indian traders or merchants from the market-house at Nairobi, save as agents for Europeans to be revoked, and their produce to have equal rights of access to the market with the produce of white farmers. This revocation would naturally follow the policy of freedom to acquire and farm lands asked for under-head.

(F) That due regard be paid to the Vested rights of the Indians in Nairobi in the matter of property and residence and that there should be no attempts at dispossession in order to bring about anything like segregation of them in locations.

(G) That no disabilities should be placed upon well-to-do Indians in respect to the question of accommodation in the steamers and on railways,

(H) That as in Uganda, there should be no differentiation between Europeans and Indians in respect of the right of trial by jury; and that this system should be applied to trial of Indians on serious charges at least.

(I) That the power of the Governor to nominate to the magisterial bench should not be restricted, as at present to British subjects "of European extraction," but the Indians should be eligible for such appointments.

(J) That due regard should be paid to the religious scruples and Caste observances of Indians when suffering terms of imprisonment.

The maintenance and extension of anti-Indian prejudice in the legislation and administration of East Africa cannot fail to have most unfortunate effect on the contentment of the people of India under British rule, and to react most adversely on the political situation there.

The Committee lay stress upon the consideration that the responsibility, both administrative and moral, rests upon the Home Government. There is here no question of imposing the will of Whitehall upon a self-governing colony, nor is the Colonial Secretary faced with the difficulties arising in those dominions where the ideal of a white man's country is entertained.

PLANTER AND LABOURER IN MAURITIUS.

The "Rights" of the Coolie.

We have received the following communication from a correspondent at Port Louis (Mauritius) which throws a flood of light on the condition of indentured labour in that island :—

Eighteen Indian labourers on the Capooris Estate contracted in April last to serve Mr. Curreemjee Jeewanjee for the period of one year. Mr. Curreemjee subsequently sold the estate to Mr. Leclezio and two others; and the eighteen Indians have intimated that they do not wish their services to be transferred along with the land. Though article 107 of the Local Labour Law requires the consent of a labourer to his transfer to another employer, i.e., to work on another estate to the one on which he was engaged, no such consent is demanded if the land is sold. There the labourers pass to the new owners like fixtures or cattle. It may be said that this latter condition is printed on the form of the contract of service, and hence that it has been agreed to between the parties. But I have never seen the Stipendiary Magistrate explaining anything more than the amount of salary

and rations receivable and the period of engagement to a certain master. Some magistrates are suspected of doing even less of their duty than this.

In the individual case mentioned there was an oral agreement between Mr. Curreemjee and his men that the contract must terminate on sale of the land, and in fact Mr. Curreemjee has taken back the advances of money made

to his men on engagement. It would thus be seen that the eighteen men are being sold, or rather bought by force, as I understand Mr. Curreemjee is favourable to the men, though the purchasers of the land have influenced the seller a great deal. The Protector of Immigrants has not assisted these men at all. On the contrary, he is adverse to the men for having taken legal advice against the white planters who have the Capooris estate :—
"India," 23-9-1910.



THE DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF SRI LANKA

Dr. BUDDHADASA P. KIRTHISINGHE

Sri Lanka celebrated 50 years of adult franchise from 1st October to 30th November, 1981 and Queen Elizabeth of Great Britain, as head of the Commonwealth, joined with the Sri Lankans in October to make it a great occasion and a historic one.

Vast economic plans made during the Premiership of Mrs. Sirimo Bandaranaike are being implemented by the new Administration of President J. R. Jayewardene. These economic development plans were hailed by all Democracies. Vast amounts of economic aid are pledged by America, Canada, Australia, Great Britain, West Germany, India, and even by some Communist and a few OPEC lands.

Senator Charles Percy of America, on a recent visit to the Island, approved the developments in South Asia. So much hope and expectations have been guaranteed that some American, British, and Indian Banks have opened branch offices in the Island, on expanded economic activity.

The island of Ceylon re-adopted her ancient name, Lanka, on May 22, 1972. On the very spot in Kandy, the ancient hill capital where the British furlled down the Singha (Lion) flag when the last Singhala King was captured by them 157 years ago, the Lion Standard was reflowed to drumbeats

to proclaim the island a Republic while still remaining, like India, a member of the British Commonwealth of Nations.

The name Lanka or Sri Lanka, is commonly used in all Ceylonese, Indian, and South-East Asian languages. It even appears in the venerated Indo-Ceylonese Hindu epic, the Namayana, of time immemorial.

Lanka is a spiritual, ethnic, cultural, and geographic entity of the South Asian sub-continent of which Bangladesh, India, and Pakistan are the other components, although she is politically and economically independent. She has a parliamentary form of government, with an adult franchise. She is the only modern nation which had had a woman Prime Minister for nearly ten years when Mrs. Indira Gandhi was elected Prime Minister of India. Sex-equality is an age-old tradition in these ancient lands.

Lanka lies 10° north of the equator at the southern tip of India, and is famous for her tropical beauty. The British called it 'The Pearl of the Orient', and in ancient times it was known to the Arabs as the "Emerald Isle". Sinbad the Sailor of Arabian tales' fame is said to have been lured into her ports to buy aromatic spices and precious stones, such as blue sapphires.

Lanka has over 2500 years of recorded

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history since the Aryans landed on the Island in the 6th century B. C. These Aryans then intermarried with the indigenous people, an Indus civilization type of people who were contemporaries of the Mesopotamian civilization.

The first Buddhist missionaries were sent by the great Indian Buddhist Emperor Asoka—3rd century B. C. He ruled a vast empire from Antioch (Greece) to Madras in South India. His capital was Palitapura, now Patna (N. India). He sent his own son, who became a Buddhist monk, and his own daughter, who became a nun, before himself arriving in the Island. The son, monk Mahinda, met the King of Ceylon at Anuradhapura and converted him and his subjects to Buddhism. The daughter, nun Sanghamitta, came a few months later, with a sapling of the Bodhi tree under which the Buddha attained enlightenment, and this sapling grows to this day at Anuradhapura as the oldest historical tree in the world.

With the introduction of Buddhism from India in the third century B. C., her civilization known as Sinhala or Sinhalese (from the Sanskrit, meaning the Lion Race), blossomed into a Golden Age. The famous Chinese Buddhist scholar and pilgrim, Hsuan Tsang, who travelled from China through India to Lanka in the fifth century A. D., left behind glowing tributes of Ceylon's cultural achievements.

The form of Buddhism that prevails in the Island is called Theravada Buddhism, which is on record as the closest to the word of the Buddha. The basic teachings found in this school are incorporated into all other schools found in Tibet, China and Japan, but the latter schools are coloured by later philosophical developments of Buddhism, also by the assimilation of primitive and sometimes advanced types of national religions.

The ancient capital of Lanka, Anuradhapura, is said to have been as large as London, with paved, tree-lined streets. There existed also seven to eight-storeyed buildings, with hospitals for both man and beast, and rest-houses for the weary. Ruined cities that lie in the island remind us of her past achievements.

Her architecture, sculpture and other forms of art that exist in the island testify to the creative genius of her people. The various visual and performing arts of the island bear resemblance to that of the culture of Mother India. However, Ceylon being an island, left in isolation for centuries, developed its own distinctive personality in all forms of human activities.

Her ancient irrigation works are the marvel of modern engineers, as mentioned in the historical studies of Professor Arnold Toynbee. They give evidence of the genius of the people of the Indus civilization as it blended with the Indo-Aryan culture. Lanka sent an ambassador to the Court of the Roman Emperor Claudius eight years after Christ's birth. Sinhalese belongs to the Indo-European group of languages: but, strange as it may sound, this great civilization, like her contemporaries, the Indian, Chinese, Roman and Greek, became decadent by the twelfth century A. D.

The present capital of Sri Lanka is Colombo, with a population of 800,000 inhabitants. About 75% of them are Sinhalese who are mostly Buddhists, 18% Tamils who are mostly Hindus, also some Muslims of Arab mixed descent. There are also about 3% of both the Sinhalese and Tamils who have adopted Christianity during the British Colonial period.

Agriculture is the backbone of the economy of the island. Tea, Rubber, and Coconuts are the main exports. The island

produces high quality graphite and cinnamon for export, and is well known for artistic jewelry and handicrafts produced at Kandy, its hill capital. Sri Lanka produces some of the highest quality tea, and is the largest tea exporter in the world.

It is one of the more literate countries in Asia, almost matching Japan, with 90% literacy. Education is free from kindergarten to University level. It has six major Universities and two top grade Medical Colleges. Its education is recognized by all British, American, and European Universities.

The fabric of the culture of Lanka is interwoven with Buddhist philosophy and Hinduism to a lesser extent. Therefore, a hurried traveller visiting Sri Lanka may be able to gain a glimpse of the culture of age-old India.

**MESSAGE FROM H. E. PRESIDENT
RONALD REAGAN OF THE U. S. A. TO
H. E. PRESIDENT J. R. JAYEWARDENE.**

The American people join me in extending to you and to the people of Sri Lanka our warmest congratulations on the occasion of the thirty-third anniversary of Sri Lanka's independence. I knew that this year also marks the fiftieth anniversary of universal adult suffrage in Sri Lanka, a proud milestone in your history which clearly demonstrates your dedication to the ideals of democracy. Your commitment to the democratic process is shared and admired by all Americans. It is the foundation on which the strong ties of friendship between our two countries are based. These ties will, I know, continue to flourish in the future. With my best wishes for the continued prosperity and well-being of you and your countrymen.

**A MESSAGE FROM H.E. PRESIDENT
J.R. JAYEWARDENE OF SRI LANKA ON
NATIONAL DAY, 4TH FEBRUARY, 1981.**

Universal adult franchise has been enjoyed by our people for 50 years. We have also been a free and sovereign state since 1948 for 33 years. The franchise was something new to our people though we had used the vote since the 1860's for elections to the municipal councils of Colombo, Galle and Kandy and limited franchise since 1911 to the legislature. Freedom, however, had been enjoyed by us since the 6th century B.C. and it was only in 1815 that the whole island came under foreign domination.

During the 143 years we were under British rule our country entered into the modern world of development and democracy. The whole of Asia which at one time was largely under foreign rule is now free. Of all these countries we were the earliest to enjoy universal franchise.

I need not recount the many achievements of successive Governments elected by universal franchise since freedom. Our people have demonstrated a political consciousness wedded to democratic principles that is unique in this region. We have achieved health and literacy standards comparable with those of developed countries. Since 1977, we have accelerated development programmes to provide an increasingly high quality of life to our people.

I must remind you however that independence and universal adult franchise bring with them responsibilities—responsibilities that are not limited to the elected representatives but which the people as a whole must share.

Independence means that the sole responsibility for our social, political and economic growth is ours alone, and that this responsibility must be shared by all the people who

enjoy it. We must strive not to be dependent on others.

Universal adult franchise brings with it not merely the periodic exercising of a vote to elect representatives to parliament, or to any other institution such as Local Government, or even a co-operative, but also a consequential responsibility to participate with our own toil and effort to achieve what we all strive for; a better quality of life not only for ourselves but also for future generations.

In this fiftieth year of universal adult franchise and on this independence day I stress the need for each one of us to do such work as is entrusted to us diligently and efficiently. This is the only means by which our country can develop and prosper. This is the only means by which we can safeguard our independence and look forward to a peaceful and prosperous future.

By the time the country attained independence in 1948 there had been three general elections under universal suffrage, the longest record of democratic elections in any former colonial territory of the third world. It is also an enviable record of impartiality in the conduct and organization of elections; with nine general elections since 1931, all of them free of any major outbreak of any violence or breakdown in the administrative machinery. What is even more significant is that six times since, including 1956, the electorate has turned a government out of office. In 1959 the voting age was reduced to 18.

The innovation took effect from the general election of 1965. Whether there is a link between this and the very significant increase in the turnout of voters at general elections since 1965 is not clear. The figures for 1965, 1970, and 1977, are 82%, 84.9%, and 86.7% respectively, where previously it

had been 61.3% in 1947, 74% in 1952, 71% in 1956, 77.6% in March 1960, and 75.6% in July of the same year. The heavy poll could also reflect something else; an increase in political education of the electorate ever since it was demonstrated in 1956 that a seemingly well-entrenched government could be brought down at the polls. The political sophistication of the electorate is demonstrated by the fact that, except in March 1960, on every other occasion a party or a coalition has been returned to power with a clear mandate represented by effective parliamentary majority.

Thus Sri Lanka provides an unusual example of a thriving democracy in a third world situation, where most post-colonial societies have succumbed to the blandishments of a one-party system or have adopted dictatorships of various hues. Sri Lankan democracy, has confronted and triumphed over some of the most difficult conditions imaginable—ethnic and religious tensions, inflationary pressures, massive educated unemployment (one of the root causes of the JVP-insurrection of 1971) and, for much of the last twenty years or so, a stagnant economy. Its survival owes as much to a very literate (a literacy rate of over 80%) and highly politicized electorate as it does to a mature and sophisticated political elite.

The Mahaweli Ganga is the largest river in the island of Sri Lanka, rising in the hill country and crossing the broad extent of the eastern plain of the island to flow into the sea near Trincomalee. It flows through that part of the country which saw the rise of the two ancient civilizations in Sri Lanka, centred on Anuradhapura and Polonnaruwa. These civilizations were supported by a self-sufficient agriculture in this same region, based on

irrigation provided by an interconnected system of reservoirs (known locally as tanks) drawing water from the Mahaweli Ganga and other lesser rivers that reached the area from the central hills.

Wars with foreign invaders which often destroyed numbers of these reservoirs, and a gradual shift of the population towards the West of the island, led to a decline of these civilizations shortly before the coming of the colonial powers from the western world.

The four centuries of colonial domination saw a shift in the direction of agriculture from production for self-sufficiency in food towards production of commercial crops for export, such as spices, tea, rubber, and coconut, in other parts of the island. The historic agricultural area of the country was claimed by the jungle together with the remains of its ancient civilizations.

Since the regaining of independence the need for self-sufficiency in food has been seen as a major objective by successive governments. Efforts have centred on the historic agricultural area of the country. They have taken the form of reviving the ancient irrigation system where possible, constructing new projects which would not only provide irrigation but also hydro-power.

Although developments in this area of economic activity have proceeded at the speed which the resources would allow both locally and from foreign sources, the developments did not keep pace with the needs of the country. A considerable amount of Sri Lanka's resources had still to be spent on the importation of food, which could otherwise have gone into economic development.

One of the biggest innovations in the modernisation of the country was that of 1977, when the Government decided on what came to be known as the Accelerated Mahaweli Development Programme. The original

period of construction envisaged by the UNDP/FAO Report was 30 years, which was a step-wise construction programme; but a decision was made to cut it down, as far as possible, with a view to developing all the resources of the river simultaneously. There were three main reasons for this :—

(a) To have an immediate impact on the agricultural development of our country, in view of the fact that a sizeable amount of Foreign Exchange was taken for the importation of foodstuffs, i. e. rice. The 1978 figures for the import of Rice, Flour and Sugar, were as follows :—

I.	Rice.	—	170,000 m. tons.
II.	Flour.	—	615,000 m. tons.
III.	Sugar.	—	166,000 m. tons.

Hence, it is very vital that we develop our potential to the full, particularly in regard to cereals, so that a sizeable amount of Foreign Exchange can be saved. The fact that this country was known as the Granary of the East in the past, only shows the great potential we have for agricultural development. An examination of the physical remains of our ancient irrigation structures, provides concrete evidence of the prospect for agricultural development. In this context, it would be most inappropriate not to develop our agricultural potential as fast as possible, and in doing this, the development of the Mahaweli Ganga and its adjacent basins is very vital.

(b) To make an effort to solve the unemployment problem which had assumed considerable proportions. This was made still worse by the fact that the economy was not able to absorb all the persons turned out by higher education institutions, and this was a veritable source of discontent. Already a glimpse of such a discontent was had in the Youth Insurgency of 1971. In the context of this country, it had been the experience in the

past that each acre of land opened under irrigation gives sure employment, throughout the year, for one person directly engaged in farm activities and an additional person employed in secondary activities, connected with agriculture and the service sectors. This, along with the employment generated by construction was estimated to provide employment to close upon a million persons, and to have an effect on our unemployment problem.

(c) The world today faces what is obviously an "Energy Crisis." Since the mid '70's, particularly after the Arab-Israel conflict, there has been a very sharp escalation of oil prices. This had the most adverse effects on the developed economies of the world, as much as on the undeveloped economies. In our country, at present, we have no known source of energy which could be exploited. Reference in this context is made to fuel such as petroleum or energy got from materials like coal or lignite. Hence, for our energy, we have to depend on energy tapped from falling water, i. e. Hydro-power. When the Free Trade Zone was opened, efforts were made to attract foreign investors into this country. However, the biggest constraint was the lack of power. The government had to spend a large amount of money with an in-built quantum of foreign exchange to be utilized when it installed the gas turbines to meet the energy requirements of the Free Trade Zone. In this context, therefore, the development of the Mahaweli Ganga, which has a total potential of about 500 MW, is so very vital for our economic and social development. It is only by its exploitation to the fullest that we can meet the energy requirements of this country.

At the moment, we have about 330 MW of installed power. However, we have one of the lowest use per capita of power, i. e. 74.2 KWh compared with 130.3 for India,

and 479 for Malaysia. Of the total rural population of this country, which is more than 70 percent, only 10 percent have electricity.

A brief description is given of the big Projects coming under the Accelerated Mahaweli Programme, where work is presently on, which would provide much needed energy resources, and water for agricultural development in different areas of the region.

KOTMALE PROJECT.

This is situated about 30 km from Kandy. It is to be a type of Dam, 350 ft. high and 1,969 ft. long, with an upstream concrete membrane. The Spillway is concrete. There is a low pressure tunnel and an underground power station. The aid in this regard is mainly from the Swedish Government. The Swedish import-support for this project totals 630 million Swedish Kroners, which amounts to about Rs. 2,400 million. This project will have an installed power capacity of 200 MW and an irrigation potential of 20,000 hectares.

VICTORIA PROJECT.

The installed capacity of power is 210 MW, and there is provision for a further 210 MW to be installed subsequently at a later stage. The U. K. Government has given a grant of £100 million to meet partly the cost of the project. The irrigation and agricultural benefits from the Victoria Project would be that it would enable the development of 112,000 acres coming under System 'B' & 'C'.

MADURA OYA PROJECT.

This project envisages the construction of a rockfill Dam, 40 m high and 100 m long. The Canadian Government has given 75 million Canadian dollars on the basis of a soft loan. It is scheduled to be com-

pleted in 1982. In order to quicken the process of work in two downstream areas, under aegis of the World Bank, the Main Right Bank Canal has been given out on contract to an Italian Company, Vianini International. The Right Bank Canal would enable the surplus water from the Mahaweli Ganga Basin to be taken to Madura Oya, so that one of these downstream areas can be developed. This project will have an installed power capacity of 9.75 MW and an irrigation potential of 36,000 hectares.

SECOND STAGE OF THE PROGRAMME.

The second stage of the programme would involve the study and investigation of water balances in relation to the North Central Province, North-Western and South-Eastern Region of the Dry Zone. There are about 300,000 acres for development in these areas. With World Bank aid, a water balance study is being carried out.

One would get the idea, therefore, that there is simultaneous work going on in all parts of the River. It is one of the greatest development efforts made in the history of the country. It will transform our country in the agricultural, social and industrial spheres. There is no doubt that the future of the country and its destiny is closely tied up with this development.

In addition, Sri Lanka has created investment development zones. Katunayaki, the youngest of the world investment promotion zones, has had an amazing take-off in the 24 months. One hundred and twenty projects with investments of over \$400 million from 30 countries have been started. The political stability of the Island, plus the low wage rate, just over \$2 per diem for skilled workers, has been a major inducement. "Sri Lanka's greatest asset is her people", says an American investor. "They are a greater attraction than tax holidays".



EXPLOITATION OF THE CHILD

Sm. ROMOLA SINHA

The U. N. General Assembly in 1976 decided to declare the year 1979 as the International Year of the Child. How right they have been in focussing world attention on the needs of children of all denominations as the future of the world depends on to-day's child.

Children should have the opportunity to grow up healthy in mind and in body, but unfortunately, millions of them are exploited by the unscrupulous and they are deprived of the privileges they have a right to. In my experience as a Social Worker I have come across young minor girls who have been kidnapped or enticed away from their village homes and sold to brothels from where there is usually no escape. I have visited V. D. clinics and have found girls of tender age undergoing treatment for this disease and have been told that there is a great demand for such children by clients visiting brothels. But it is always the prostitute who is prosecuted and punished and never the client for whose pleasure she has to ply this trade. Brothels create a market for vice. Until and unless they are closed down the flow of traffic in human flesh will continue.

It was reported to me by a railway officer that young girls at railway stations were being exploited for immoral purpose and my colleagues and I have visited railway platforms and seen these girls who sell themselves for food. Then there are the children one sees

begging on the streets with outstretched hands, some deliberately maimed and blinded by their exploiters who live on their earnings. We also hear of young children employed as domestic helps on minimum salaries and work unsuitable for those of such tender age.

What can we do to alleviate their suffering? A great deal of the problems are due to over population and unemployment and some are due to age old customs and prejudices, especially in rural areas where, inspite of the law, widow remarriage and intercaste marriages are still taboo largely. Girls (who have no say in the matter) are given in marriage at an early age and if widowed are used as household drudges by their husband's relations. Can one then blame them if they listen to the voice of the tempter and run away from home? If two young people of different castes fall in love, parents on both sides object to their marriage and if pregnant, the girl has to leave her parents home. Where is she to go then? It is often such cases that end up in brothels.

I have talked personally to those who have been rescued by the police and placed in a residential Home with which I am closely connected and I have been appalled at their tales of woe of forced prostitution and oppression. I am writing below a few of these case studies and I am glad to say that these have

been helped to find love and happiness with the help of the authorities of the Home.

CASE STUDIES OF SOME INMATES OF A RESCUE HOME

PROVA—A pretty girl aged 15 years, was rescued from a brothel and was admitted to the Home. At the time of her admission she appeared to be dazed and behaved like a sleep walker. Later, after gentle care and treatment, she related her life story to the Hony. Secretary of the Home. She had been married at a very early age to a man much older than herself who died before she really came to know him. She had not had any education and as a young widow she had no status and was made to do all the household work of the family. From the balcony of their house she often saw a young student looking up at her when passing by and later he proposed marriage to her through her family barber woman. As she was a widow she knew she would not be allowed by her relations to re-marry so she ran away with the young man who rented a cheap room above a brothel and informed his parents of his desire to marry her. They violently opposed his proposal with the result that in utter despair the boy committed suicide leaving Prova alone and unprotected. She could not return to her people and finally agreed to the brothel keepers persuasion to earn her living by prostitution to which she submitted only after heavy drugging. It took over a year for Prova to act normally. Later a suitable bridegroom was found for her by the All Bengal Women's Union and after her lovely baby girl was born a happy and smiling Prova visited the Home with her husband and child.

ROMA—A bright and pretty girl of 14 years was sent to the All Bengal Women's Union Home by her parents who would not

agree to her marriage with a boy of a different caste although she was expecting. Her baby boy was born under the protection of the All Bengal Women's Union and they were both cared for by the Union. Roma was given education and vocational training and is now working as a Sevika. Her son was sent to a Govt. Home for boys (at the age of 7 years) where he qualified and passed out. Now he is working and is earning a good salary. He is married and has a baby. Some of our members attended the wedding and Roma has been to see the members of the Home with her son, daughter-in-law and grand child.

PUTU— Was sold to a brothel at a very tender age from where she was rescued at the age of 19 years and admitted to the Home. At the time of admission she was suffering from V. D. for which she was treated and cured. She was then given vocational training and education. She is now working and is respected by all. None, except a few members of the committee know of her past and she can look forward to the future without any feeling of shame.

SHEFALI— Was brought to the Home by her lover, broken in health, and suffering from V.D. She had been a child widow and had been enticed away from her home by a young man on promise of education and marriage. He had her admitted to a boarding school in Calcutta and then deserted her. Then another young man from her village took her out of school to his home where he forced her to prostitution and lived on her immoral earning. When diseased and ailing, he took her to the All Bengal Women's Union Home for admission as she was no longer of any use to him. At the Home she was treated and cured of V.D. Later a suitable well-to-do

farmer was found for her in the District of Jessore (before the partition) to marry. After their first child was born she and her husband brought her to Calcutta for the namakaran which was celebrated in the Home.

We need to educate our people and carry out a great deal of propaganda for family planning which cannot be forced on people, but can be induced through the right understanding of the evils of increasing population. We need compulsory education for both boys and girls and to give them a general knowledge through T.V. and Radio of what is taking place in other parts of the world which will help growing children to think for themselves and prevent their victimization by exploiters among whom sometimes parents or close relations may be included.

We are so proud of our ancient heritage, but we must also go forward and move with the times and give due consideration to the ways and means of building up the lives of our

future citizens. For this both Govt. and the citizens of India must co-operate in carrying out propaganda for the education of and better living conditions of the child, to keep vigilance at fairs and places of worship and at railway stations against the kidnapping of children, to enforce better laws for the trial and after care of delinquents and of neglected children, to open more creches and Homes for children in slum areas, to prevent the exploitation of children through begging or prostitution or as domestic helps. It is our duty to help the exploited and the under privileged.

The International Year of the Child ended in December, 1979 but although that year is over, let us not forget the exploited child, but try and work to help those being exploited now and to prevent their future exploitation. We as parents must think of every child as our own and give succour to those who need it.



LOWERING THE VOTING AGE IN INDIA

Dr. AKHTAR ALI KHAN

The constitution of India confers the voting right on a citizen only after attaining the age of 21. While most of the democracies of the world such as Britain, France, Sweden, Israel, U. S, S. R. and West Germany deem their citizens competent enough to vote at the age of eighteen, it is quite surprising that in India even after thirty-five years of independence not much attention has been given to the problem of lowering the voting age limit. None of the youth or student organizations have launched any agitation to step up the pressure and it has almost been taken for granted that present practice, which is largely a continuation of the pre-independent policy does not need a change.

However, the question cropped up in parliament about a decade ago, but is no nearer a solution now than it was even in the past. In 1972 the Joint Committee of parliament after evaluating pros and cons of the issue held : there is "no justification for denying the right of vote, to the 18-21 age-group when, for all practical purposes of law, they are treated as major and deemed competent to handle their affairs. The lowering (of the voting age) would give the younger generation a sense of participation in democratic processes." Earlier to that in 1970 the committee of petitions had argued on the same lines in favour of conferring the right to vote on 18-21 age group.

A move was made in Parliament by opposition leaders like Mr. Madhu Dandavate in early 1980 through private members' bills to secure a say for youth in the country's affairs and to get them their right to choose their representatives for the legislature. It is not easy to stomach this discrepancy that under the existing Art. 326 of the constitution, a citizen on attaining the age of 21 years is entitled to exercise his franchise, whereas in a court of law, and for the purposes of revenue and financial matters, a citizen who has attained the age of 18 years is deemed to be a major. In view of the principle of equality before law, it is not proper to deprive such adults of their right to vote. But in the absence of the political will of the ruling party which was opposed to change and did not feel that time was ripe for it, the demand of the opposition turned out to be a cry in the wilderness.

In an age of growing political consciousness among the youth if an eighteen year old citizen is to be denied the right to vote, it must be for really compelling reasons. The pretext, that some of them may be delinquents, immature or cynical is not tenable. It is a violation of the rudiments of justice to punish for potential offences and equally unfair to restrain the whole age group because of the acts of a few. Britishers also used the same argument that the Indian people

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were not mature enough to deserve political power and independence, when Indians demanded it during the British Raj.

The extra expenses and administrative efforts involved in the measure cannot be taken as the determining factors otherwise our constitution makers would have continued with the system of restricted franchise prevalent in old times of British Raj instead of opting for adult franchise for free India which does not make any distinction between the elite and the common man.

The view that the political game would become dirtier if youth were allowed to play is not correct. There are already many distortions in politics, the politics of defections, piracy and corruption. Are these due to the youth of the nation? It is a baseless fear that if they are brought into the picture, the political climate will be polluted, that there will be more immaturity and deterioration in the political scenario. It is not youth alone that is responsible for these distortions in Indian democracy. We have been witnessing in this country adult delinquency and cynicism of the old and not only the waywardness of youth.

Mr. S. P. Sen Verma, a former Chief Election Commissioner argues that unlike western countries India is too big a country to extend this right to the 18-21 group. The present population of India is about 68 crore. More than 40 crore of this huge population are persons who have completed the age of eighteen years. At present, when the minimum voting age is 21 years, the total electorate is about 36 crore. In his view it will be difficult for the Election Commission and the election staff to prepare and revise the electoral rolls with accuracy and it will not be easy to find suitable staff to conduct the polling in thousands and tens of thousands

of polling stations with efficiency and accuracy.

In the age of computers and with a huge bureaucracy at our disposal Verma's view seem to be an exaggeration and statistics have been used in the way a drunkard uses a lamp-post, more for support than for illumination. Mr. S. L. Shakdher, the present Chief Election Commissioner, an ardent advocate of a lower voting age has correctly held that the election arrangements would not become unmanageable with the inclusion of youth among voters. Had the voting age been reduced before the 1980 Lok Sabha poll, nearly two crore voters would have been added to thirty six crore, an increase of nearly 5 percent. This would have meant printing of some more ballot papers apart from a marginal increase in other processes.

Another flimsy argument often advanced is, many boys and girls of eighteen would not be able to exercise their voting in an independent manner disregarding the wishes and directions of their elders and thus rendering the free exercise of voting right ineffective to a large extent. But this argument becomes obsolete in view of the rising literacy level and spread of education even in the distant villages of India. Even now those in 18-21 age bracket are involved in politics not only of universities and colleges but also of the country and the denial of the voting right therefore, could not be justified on the ground that they are to be protected from the turmoil of politics or their tender formative minds are not to be exposed to the pernicious influence of political controversies.

Studies show that man is at his best between 18 and 28. Why should we then deny a section of this category of citizens the right to vote and to have a say in choosing the country's rulers and shaping its destiny? By lowering the voting age India would only

be following a world-wide trend. The proposal discussed above will set free a large number of competent and politically alive persons to help the growth of Indian democracy, and save it from the death kiss of gerontocracy which is making people indifferent to democratic processes, and cynical in their response to old politicians who pro-

mise much but deliver little. Conferring the right to vote on young men and women of eighteen is likely to bring a fresh whiff of life to Indian democracy by involving the most zealous and least corrupt section of the Indian population in having a stake in choosing the best representatives for Indian legislatures.

AS THE WAR CAME TO AN END SWARNAKAMAL BHATTACHARYYA

"I am always against wars" I said assertively.

"It is but natural that you should say so. You tried for a military job and failed to get it. Now whoever is in a military job, you envy him. Isn't that so Kumul?" remarked Mr. Roberts.

"No, no, never, I tried sincerely to get it. Every time I applied the military Doctor said, "not fit". But I still protest as I always did, against the killing of one man by another, the killing of one race by ano-

ther, the killing of one nation by another"

Roberts raised his fist towards the sky and said "No, we may put our feet down here to fight against those who fight against others, to see that the English may be saved to rule over you people of India, and the Russians may be saved to teach communism to China and India in future"

I felt amused at Robert's jovial tones. I met Roberts when he came for the first time to inspect the tables and chairs manufactured by the Cabinet Company, my

employers. I showed him by measurement that all the materials had been manufactured correctly to specification and according to the terms of the contract.

On Mr. Robert's certificates, the materials would be accepted by the American Military Office in Calcutta where he is a Captain in charge of stores and furniture.

Every time he came to our shop, I tried to please him as a salesman. Very slowly and cautiously we advanced towards each other till we became friends and completely forgot that he was a white sahib, a youngman from affluent America and myself a half-employed, under-paid and frustrated Asian, with no future to look forward to.

By and by we learnt a lot about each other. He came to know that my parents were poor. We were 5 sisters and three brothers. I was the eldest. For educating me, my father had sold an acre of land, for the marriages of my 4 sisters, he had sold 2 acres of land. My father had only one acre left. The family of a parent with three unemployed sons cannot survive on an acre of land. This was the reason why my father dreamt of a military job for me. But I could only get the job of a clerk-cum-salesman in a contractor's shop.

I also came to know that Roberts was a law student in a college in Chicago. He lost his father when he was very young. His widowed mother brought him up. She did not remarry in case her son became unhappy. For the son's sake, his mother led a life that would have been an ideal one even for an orthodox mother in India. His mother worked and helped her student son. But as she fell ill, Robert thought of this military job and came to India to fight the Japanese to save his mother from poverty and death.

Roberts once said, 'I like you, Kumul'. 'I too love you, Saheb', I reciprocated. Roberts sang out, the way we had seen a lover sing in a picture the other day :

I like you, you love me,
I love you, you like me,
Like me, love me—
Love me, like me.

Roberts suddenly stopped singing and ran towards the bushes, the flower bushes of Eden Gardens where we spent each evening. I ran after him. A negro soldier Robert knew, was making love to an Anglo Indian girl.

There were nice plants and bushes in Eden Garden of Calcutta during those days I am speaking of. During the days of the 2nd World War the Eden Garden of Calcutta turned into a place where the soldiers, black, brown and white used to make love to the girls they could pick up.

Roberts slapped the Negro boy, 'Abid, you are doing such things here and I always find you absent from office every evening before it closes'.

"Why have you come here, Sir?" Abid questioned arrogantly.

"Eden Gardens is in-bound to all white soldiers, and out of bounds to all black soldiers. Have you not noted it carefully? Get out of here immediately."

"The girl is waiting here for me, Sir,"

"Go then, along with her, out of here".

Abid ran quickly into the bushes and then ran out of the garden with his lover.

Abid also came to our house once and saw my parents when Roberts had one day sent him with a letter for handing over to me. Our house was by the side of the Christian Burial ground. It was a kutchra house in the midst of a slum. Abid had seen my youngest sister and got enamoured of her. Though

both my parents were dark and I was brown, my youngest sister was fair. Roberts had seen her. I knew, he also liked her. He gave some presents to her. He had once invited me to go to the pictures with him along with my sister. My father protested. I explained the entire family situation of traditional Indian society, the impossibility of marriage between the Muslims and Christians to Roberts. All my 4 sisters had been married to Muslim-grooms. So the fifth sister also must be married to a Muslim boy.

For a few days there was no sign of Roberts. I was afraid he had taken exception to what I said about my father's views. For the sake of my company, I could not run the risk of losing business. After all Robert's Office were good pay-masters. After three days of anxiety, I got a note through Abid who saw my father when I was in office. He was a shrewd fellow and could understand what my father liked. He had put on a red cap with black tail used by devout Muslims. He could speak in broken Hindi with my father, mother and sister.

Five days later Layla was missing from Park Circus Maidan where she was playing with other school-girls. The girls still playing there said a Military jeep stopped by the side of the play-ground and asked who would like a ride to Eden Garden in the Jeep. Four girls had gone. In the jeep there had been three soldiers :

In the dark street of our slum all the four girls were dropped by Abid from the jeep on its return trip. When asked where she had been, my sister Layla said, 'Abid called me. We went with him for a trip in the jeep. What fun we had !' My parents were burning with rage when she said this. Actually my mother beat her with a broom stick. My sister, the treasured jewel of my parents, could

not make out why she should be beaten, when all other girls were going out on trips every day in jeeps. She started wailing.

My father asked, 'In Abid's jeep ?'

'No, his jeep came here for the first time. I went because I know him, because he comes to you, because he brings mother presents, and because he calls me by my name.'

I could understand my father, Ramjan, my mother, Fatima, and my sister, Layla. —All of them. To me, it appeared that all of them were right from their standpoints. I could say nothing for or against any of them. One thing became very clear to me. This war had completely shattered the morality of the people, and of society. This war has brought the Japs over the sky of this country to throw bombs, to kill people—brown people, white people and black people who had come to India to save our people, as well as the kingdom of white English people. Poverty reigned in British India more ruthlessly than the British rulers themselves. Now here were white and black people of America to protect the poor and insecure brown people of India from the rage of Japan's attack ! They demanded a price for the protection they provided.

I had talked to Roberts about this one day, unwillingly. Mahatmaji asked the English to quit India, to let her fight for her own existence. Netaji had run to Germany and Japan so that he might drive the English away with their aid because there was no other cure for our country—our poor suffering country, my beloved country. No doubt the entire earth is my mother country, as the poet Tagore has taught us.

What is the good of thinking that the entire earth is my country at a time when all the nations were mad playing the game of killing one another ? Every nation now

speaks of peace, after destroying the enemy nation. The other day, the Japs have been destroyed by a single bomb at Nagasaki.

'See how the Japs have been taught (a lesson' Roberts said boasting

'I do not find any glory in killing human beings', I retorted.

'The Japs and the Germans would be defeated any way. That would have taken a long time—say 2 years, or 3 years. You people were already tired of war and praying for peace, day and night. Peace has been quickened', explained Robert.

'What is the meaning of peace? Do you know?' I asked.

'What?'

'Peace is', one of our writers says, when the Nations prepare for war. And what is war? War is when the people cry for peace'.

'Yes, that is so'.

'Yes, the civilisations of the earth so far have developed these kind of things: war, prostitution, deprivation, starvation and subjugation. And when subjugation by you of other nations is complete, you say peace has come'.

Robert said, 'Don't worry, the American people will re-build Japan soon, and grant you people independence'.

'You will grant us independence? How?'

'Yes, the English people are dependent on us. They cannot keep you under their feet any longer, if we don't help them. And we won't help them'.

In the meanwhile, a strange thing happened. I was coming out of the Catholic Church on Dharmatolla Street in the North along with Roberts when I found my sister,

'Layla' standing on the foot-path near the Mosque there. It appeared she was waiting for some one. Yes, it was for Abid that she was waiting. We both saw Abid coming out of the Mosque and then joining Layla. Both turned their steps towards Curzon Park nearby. Roberts and I followed them from a distance very carefully. In the Park there was a statue. They both sat there with their back to the statue and facing the bushes. They sat side by side. Roberts could not tolerate this. He pounced upon Abid and I ran after him. Robert dragged Abid to the other side of the bushes and invited him to a duel. Abid was ready. Both had revolvers in their hands. The fight began. I stood in front of them and implored

'Don't fight. Don't kill each other'.

'Move off,' shouted Roberts.

'Get away, Kumal', cried Abid.

Both were ferociously looking at each other.

'I will not move. If you are suffering from homicidal mania so much, you may simultaneously shoot me and satisfy your thirst for blood. Don't kill each other. You are both citizens of a rich Independent Country, America. Your life has value. I am a man of a subjugated nation. What is the value of my life? It would be a wonderful death, a useful sacrifice, if my death can stop the death of two free men of America.'

The words 'free men of America' had a great effect on Roberts and Abid. They hid their own revolvers. They thought of Layla then. Abid actually started searching for her. Robert and I followed Abid. The entire park was ransacked. But Layla could not be found. During the course of the search we noticed at least a hundred pairs of lovers, of whites and Anglo-Indians, of

blacks and Anglo-Indians or brown girls. We could not look at them. We were madly looking for Layla, where could she go? We came to Esplanade Tram Depot, where a long row of trams bound for Park Circus Maidan were standing. At one window of those waiting trams I noticed Layla's face all of a sudden. Roberts and Abid also saw her after I pointed her out.

'The poor girl is very frightened' said Roberts. 'Let us not frighten her further. Come on, we shall go by the next tram car. She is in the right car', I said. Abid said, 'Yes, we came here by this car.'

We both entered the tram. Abid followed us. I don't know what he had got in his mind. Any way I could not stop him from coming. So, we three came to our house in the slum and found that Layla had already arrived. Mother asked, 'Why are you late Layla?'

'No mother, I am not late. The Traffic jam made me late. You asked me not to cross the road when there are cars and jeeps and Military trucks there.'

My mother was silent. Abid went to my father who was sitting on the Varandah. Roberts came with me to my bed-room. My mother prepared tea and egg rolls for both Roberts and Abid. After we had finished our tea my father entered into my room along with Abid.

My father looked very grave. His voice was heavy. He said 'One thing I want to make clear to you people, I mean you three'. 'I was a poor villager. I sold away my paddy growing lands just for respectable marriages of my daughters. The few bighas I still had were also sold for Kumal's education. This war brought this crisis for all my neighbours in the villages and also here. People are sell-

ing their ijat (self respect) just to keep body and soul together. Is such a life worth living? But we must live to see if better days will come at all.' My father at this stage looked at me and Roberts also and said, 'Abid says the peer Saheb of the Mosque approves of the proposal. That is, that of his marriage with Layla. I don't want to go. You please go and see him. I have thought over the matter. If you give her in marriage to a military-man like Abid there are many risks, though he is a Muslim. Everything is uncertain, even life is uncertain. Still this marriage may be good for Layla.'

Roberts immediately turned towards Abid clasped his hands and said, 'Congratulation, Abid.'

'Where will the marriage take place? In this slum?' asked Roberts with due sympathy.

But Abid flared up, 'A man from the slums must marry in a slum. That is what is quite obvious,' he said with controlled rage.

Roberts said, 'your ghetto is better than this slum.'

'Better? How?' all the slums of the world are alike; they are like the concentration camps in Russia or Germany. You can work, and work and die, Nobody will take care of you, nobody will shed a tear. In Russia the Government punishes and sends the suspects to those camps. Here or in America we are born in the slums or dragged to slums by force of circumstances like poverty. All criminals banish themselves to these slums. They live like animals and when caught on a charge of murder or rape they face imprisonment for life or capital punishment. Till then they can never get out of these slumss.'

This made Robert quieten down. I felt

the truth of Abid's statement from my personal experiences of the area I lived in.

After Layla's marriage with Abid, he was transferred to Imphal Air Port for a short period. During that time Abid met with a truck accident and expired. This tragic news was brought to my parents by Roberts himself. For several days he visited my parents every day. He consoled them, he consoled Layla, the young widow. After about a month Roberts came and asked if my father was thinking of Layla's re-marriage. My mother said 'No, not yet, the duration of mourning must be over'.

Roberts waited for that duration and then one day asked my mother 'Will you agree to Layla marrying me if I embrace Islam ?

My father replied, 'Why should you be a Muslim ? Can't Layla embrace Christianity ? If you marry her she will become a Christian and then you leave for U. S. A., now that the war is over.'

The marriage was solemnised in Dharmatola Catholic Church. The Father of the Church showed great enthusiasm in the marriage celebrations. After the ceremony was over, the Father prayed for the safe return of Roberts along with his bride Layla Roberts.

Soon after the marriage Roberts got leave to go home. The plane was to leave Dum Dum Air Port on one morning in December, '45. I went to the Air Port to see them off. Neither my father nor my mother could go to the Air Port.

At the Air Port I found Roberts very happy but Layla was gloomy, and shedding tears. I tried to bring to her mind a bright picture of the nice family she would have in Chicago where her mother-in-law lived. How kind and lovely she was.

Immediately the call to board the plane was announced. I was looking at the plane and the passengers getting in. All of a sudden Robert and Layla simultaneously rushed towards me and kissed me on the cheek-Layla on the right and Robert on the left cheek.

They both boarded the plane. They waved their hands. I waved my hands. The plane left the ground and went round and round as she flew into the blue sky and then like a bird left the horizon of our sky.

In the meanwhile a plane from the west flew in. It was also an American plane. The passengers came out in procession, they had returned from the Italian or Egyptian front. I saw a soldier coming towards me with an European lady. When he came near me, I could recognise him. He was my class-mate Rajan. He was very dark. I knew, he was promoted as Captain and had gone to the Italian front. Rajan introduced me to the fair lady by his side. They both shook hands with me.

I whispered to Rajan's ears, 'Booty ?'

'No, trophy,' answered Rajan in the same manner.

I welcomed them and told Rajan that my sister had married an American soldier and had left the Air Port just a few minutes back, for America.

Rajan embraced me as he uttered congratulations.

On returning to our hut in the slum I found my mother still weeping. She was sobbing, 'Allah only knows what will happen to her. The baby does not know any one except Roberts there. Who knows how her mother-in-law will treat her. The baby knows very little English. Will she be able to talk ?'

'Pray to Allah, who only can save her. Don't weep,' my father said gravely.

'Ma, your anxiety has no meaning. You know, my friend Rajan. He went to Italy with the army there. He has come back with an Italian wife. That lady also does not know any language except Italian. How will she manage?'

Both my parents knew Rajan. They were encouraged by this piece of news I gave them.

My father like a devout muslim sat down to pray.

"Allah, Do thou grant peace 'on earth. Let all nations be cured of the madness of fighting, killing one another. Let all the nations be united—the black, the brown, the yellow and the white—let all the nations be united. Let all of them live together happily like one nation.'

As I looked at my father, I saw a halo of light around his face, his head. No, I could not see his face any longer for the tears in my eyes. I closed my eyes in silent prayer for One Nation in this one world after the war came to an end.

CULTURAL HERITAGE OF BENGAL

BIBHUTI BHUSAN BOSE

Now-a-days the attention of educated men and women of Bengal has been drawn towards the future prospects of Bengali youth and the economic situation of truncated Bengal. But, unfortunately no one deeply ponders over the cultural heritage of Bengal. For this reason we feel the urgent necessity of discussing this subject because it is not possible to judge a race only by its economic standpoint. They must be judged from all standpoints.

The religion, culture and philosophy of Bengal is one and undivided. There is no such thing as the culture of East Bengal or of West Bengal. From various points of view, Bengal is an undivided and single unit. It is not proper to judge the culture of Bengal from a one-sided angle of vision. The Religion, civilisation, culture and philosophy of Bengal is one and indivisible. All parts of Bengal—East and West, North and South—

existed as integral parts of one undivided country for a long time in the past. Therefore, it is not proper or possible to divide Bengal from any one standpoint—religious, cultural, traditional or philosophical. For this reason, Bengali culture must be understood by all in its full and comprehensive sense.

It is not possible to discuss the cultural heritage of Bengal briefly. However, a few points may be discussed here under. The history of Bengal is very ancient. Three thousand years ago we find that commercial relations existed between Bengal and all parts of Eastern Asia, viz., Java, Sumatra, Borneo etc. Tamralipta was a big port from where ships used to start for different countries (Ref: —Indian Shipping by Dr. R. K. Mukherjee). The people of Tamralipta i.e. Tamluk, had close connection with Tamilnad. As regards the Bengali script it can be said that this script was derived from the Brahmi script which is much older than the Devnagari script, invented in the 7th century A.D. (Ref: Cultural heritage of Bengal—Dr. Kalikinkar Sengupta.) In the sphere of religion, however the culture of Bengal is best apparent. In the 7th Century A.D., Buddhism and Jainism were prevalent in Bengal. We find the influence of Tantra in the poems of Buddhist monks (900-1200 A.D.). At that time Buddhism was gradually mixing with Tantrik Buddhism and later on with Tantrik Shaivism. In the thirteenth century Buddhism concealed itself after the invasion of Muslims and in East Bengal only it reigned as a distinct entity. At the end of the 15th Century we find the prevalence of Vaishnavism in Bengal, its literature, poems, philosophy etc. following the advent of Shri Chaitanya (1485). Thus, we find the prevalence of Tantrikism and Vaishnavism in the fifteenth Century although Tantrikism began in the 7th Centu-

ry A.D., while Vaishnavism was very ancient in India and we find its trace in the Holy Bhagavat. Vaishnavism and Shaktism took different forms of expression in the fertile soil of Bengal. When the nation was steeped in deep ignorance, darkness and superstitions, Shri Chaitanya (1486-1533) came to deliver the people from all sorts of empty formalities. He preached that men could be liberated only by the holy mantram of Hari. The early life of Sri Chaitanya was spent at Nabadwip and in early youth he led the life of an ordinary householder. But, when the tide of spiritual hunger, devotion and deep divine urge overwhelmed him, he renounced all his material belongings and attachments and was initiated into sainthood. After the initiation he began to preach the supreme merit of chanting the name of Hari in our practical lives, and rescued many carnal-minded men by the magic power of the name. According to him every man, irrespective of caste, creed, colour and religion, is qualified to worship the Divine Spirit. This great gospel of universal worship i.e. chanting the name of Hari by all, revolutionised the entire nation. Within only five years (1510-1515) of his life as a religious preacher, he made a unique revolutionary change in the social, religious, and cultural spheres of Bengal.

About two centuries after the passing away of Shri Chaitanya the Vaishnav sect gradually drifted into empty formalities and vulgarities and at that stage came Ramprasad Sen, the Yogi and the poet, to preach the felicity of mother-worship in our practical lives. He preached that men are like little children in the hands of Mother Kali to be fostered carefully so that they can attain perfection in the end. The life and activities of Ramprasad are well-known in all parts of Bengal. Hence, it is not necessary to write in detail the life and the strenuous Sadhana of

Ramprasad to realise the Supreme Being. Ramprasad realised the Divine Mother through Sakta method. He composed songs in the different periods of Sadhana, and every song is the spontaneous outbreak of his strenuous attempt to attain salvation. He gave the Bengali nation a language, a mantram through which the entire nation was awakened and expressed itself. If Shri Chaitanya can be called the prophet of Neo-Vaishnavism in Bengal, Ramprasad may also be described as the prophet of Saktahood in Bengal. These two personalities gave Bengal a new outlook in Mother-worship and childlike yearning for divine perfection. These were the ways of liberation shown by Ramprasad.

After the death of Ramprasad a new spirit of resurgence was visible in Bengal. At that time with the coming of the Europeans, the educated youth of the country were deeply interested and influenced by foreign culture, philosophy, religion, civilisation, manners and customs. At this time the soul of Bengal was enveloped in deep darkness, in ignorance, superstition, and the educated youngmen of the country were bewildered by the dazzling splendours of Western civilisation. At that critical juncture of Indian history came talented and great men like Rammohun Roy (1772-1838) Rev. K. M. Banerjee (1813-1865), Maharshi Devendra Nath Tagore (1817-1905) Vidyasagar (1820-1891,) Keshab chandra Sen (1839-1884), among others. In the political sphere we find orators like Ramgopal Ghosh (1815-1867), Woomesh Chandra Bonnerjee (1844-1906), Sir Surendra Nath (1948-1925), in literature Micheal Madhusudan (1824-1873), Rishi Bankim Lal Mohun Ghosh (1849-1909), Ramesh Chandra Datta (1849-1909).

Ultimately religious endeavour found culmination at that time in the deep and

earnest Sadhana of Ramakrishna Paramhansa (1836-1886), the saint of Dakshineswar, who showed a new and noble light of purity, self-sacrifice and spirituality. According to him, all the paths shown by the great personalities of the world from time immemorial are true. He practised various religious doctrines and dogmas and discovered by his strenuous Sadhana that all paths lead to the same goal. In the words of Romain Rolland, he was the 'consummation of two thousand years of spiritual life of three hundred million people.' After the passing away of Ramakrishna, his able disciple Swami Vivekananda expounded before the materialistic West the philosophy and religion of Bengal, his elevating message of service, self-sacrifice and discipline. According to him, religion is the very breath, the soul of India, and must be preached to the world as the only way to peace and prosperity. The poet Rabindra Nath and Sri Aurobindo preached the hopes and aspirations of Bengal in their individual lights, Rabindra Nath preached his views and opinions through his books like, Gitanjali, Sadhana, Nationalism, Personality, Religion of Man to name only a few. Sri Aurobindo dreamt of a new era, of a divine race of men on the face of the earth in his immortal book viz., Life Divine, Essays of the Gita and Epic Savitri. According to him, man's problem is mainly inner and psychological and can therefore, be solved only by bringing about an inner change in man's nature, by rising to a higher level of consciousness. He wanted to prove that evolution is not stopped with the human beings as envisaged by Darwin and man is only a transitional being, He must exceed his present mental consciousness and attain the higher level of truth-consciousness when the divine race of man on earth will be possible.

Thus, the cultural heritage of Bengal through centuries of struggle and evolution, has taken the present shape of universal and cosmopolitan religion where different creeds and customs would mingle together and produce a new note of life—a song infinitely varied in tune and melodies.

We have discussed, in brief, the cultural heritage of Bengal. Many eminent personalities of Bengal viz. Dr. Radha Kumud Mookerjee (Indian Shipping), Dr. Ramesh Chandra Majumdar (History of Bengal), Dr.

Nihar Ranjan Roy (Banglar Itihas), Dr. Kali Kinkar Sen-gupta (Cultural Heritage of Bengal), Benoy Ghosh (Paschim Banglar Sanskriti) and Mohitlal Majumdar (Banglar Naba Yuga) have discussed elaborately the cultural heritage of Bengal in their voluminous books. To-day the youth of Bengal do not think at all about the cultural heritage of Bengal. May the cultural heritage of Bengal inspire and stimulate the youth of our dear mother land to lead a life devoted to the cause of mankind and universal religion—this is our fervent hope and prayer.

TWELVE HISTORIC LETTERS

J. B. KULKARNI

At the beginning of the 19th Century Britain had complete domination over India. During this period she devoted some years to reorganise the administration of India to suit her own convenience. Naturally European Officers were recruited on a large scale in Government Departments. Indians were in negligible numbers. This irritated the Indian Public. Honourable Gopal Krishna Gokhale

took up the cudgel and characterised that it was a moral evil on the British Administration to fill the higher cadres of Public Services in India with Europeans. At last on 17 March 1911, Shri N. Subba Rao moved a resolution in the Imperial Legislative Council, recommending the appointment of a Commission to consider the claims of Indians to higher and larger employment in the Public Services

connected with the civil Administration of India. Gokhale supported Subba Rao's resolution and stressed the need for Indianizing Public Services. He pointed out that though in 1886, a Public Service Commission was appointed under the Chairmanship of Sir Charles Aitchison, the then Lt. Governor of Punjab, it failed to improve the situation for want of proper powers. While, demanding a fresh enquiry into the whole matter, Gokhale observed —

"That the Secretary of State's orders were passed in about 1890 or 1891 and twenty years have elapsed since then. If for nothing else, at least for the fact that it is now 25 years since the appointment of the Public Service Commission and 20 years since the Secretary of State passed his orders on the recommendations of that Commission".

This had a good effect. Mr. E. S. Montague, the then Chancellor of the Exchequer, announced in the House of Commons on 30th July 1912, the appointment of a Royal Public Service Commission under the Chairmanship of Lord Islington, then Governor of Newzealand.

The composition of the Commission was as follows :—

John Poynder, Baron Islington—Chairman.

- (1) Lawrence John, Lumley Dundas
(Commonly called Earl of Ronaldshay).
- (2) Sir Murray Hammick.
- (3) Sir Theodore Morison.
- (4) Sir Valentine Chirol.

(5) Mahadeo Bhaskar Choubal, Member of Executive Council of the Governor of Bombay.

(6) Abdur Rahim, Judge of the Madras High Court.

(7) Gopal Krishna Gokhale, Additional Member of the Council of the Governor General of India.

(8) Walter Culley Madge.

(9) Frank George Sly.

(10) Herbert Albert Lurens Fisher.

(11) James Ramsay Macdonald.

The Commission was charged with the duty to examine and report on the following in connection with I.C.S. and other Civil Services, Imperial and Provincial :—

- (1) The methods of recruitment and the system of training and probation,
- (2) The Conditions of Service, leave and Pension,
- (3) Such limitations as still exist in the employment of non-Europeans and the working of the existing system of division of services into Imperial and Provincial,

and generally to consider the requirements of the Public Services and to recommend such changes as it may deem expedient. This Commission had wider power and jurisdiction than the earlier ones.

The Commission enquired into those posts which had an initial salary of Rs. 200 or Re. 250. This led the Commission to enquire into the following 24 Departments

Sr. No.	Departments	No. of officers in each service.	Total No. of Officers in the department.
1	2	3	4
1.	Agriculture-Imperial Service	62	—
	Provi-Services.	56	118
2.	Civil Veterinary-Imperial Service	34	—
	Provl. Services.	36	70
3.	Customs	—	20
4.	Edn-Imperial Services	199	—
	Edn-Provl. Services.	386	—
	Edn Women's appointments	48	633
5.	Factory & Boiler Inspection	—	38
6.	Indian Finance	—	163
7.	Military Finance	—	57
8.	Forest—Imperial Services	213	—
	Prov.	208	421
9.	Geological Survey.	—	21
10.	Indian Civil Service	1411	—
	Provl. Civil Services—		
	Executive branches	1527	—
	Judicial branches	1045	3983
11.	Land Records (Burma)	—	48
12.	Medical (including Jail and Sanitary,)	566	—
	Superior Appointments,		
	Appointments of minor importance	821	1387
13.	Mines	—	5
14.	Min+ and Assay	—	7
15.	Pilots (Bengal)	—	74
16.	Police-Imperial Service	671	—
	Provl. Services	255	926
17.	Post Office & Telegraph—	247	—
	Post Office—		
	Post Office-Telegraph (Traffic)	40	—
	Telegraphs (Engg.)-Imperial Services	46	333
	Prov-Service.		
18.	Public Works including Railway (Engg.)-Imperial Service.	—	648
	Provincial Services.	280	928

TWELVE HISTORIC LETTERS

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Sr. No.	Departments	No. of officers in each service.	Total No. of Officers in the department.
1	2	3	4
19.	Railway (Revenue)-Management	7	—
	" " Traffic	112	—
	" " Locomotive	60	—
	" Carriage & Wagon	17	—
	" " Stores	18	214
20.	Registration	—	21
21.	Northern India Salt Revenue	—	45
22.	Salt & Excise	—	267
23.	Survey of India-Imperial Service	57	—
	Survey of India-Provincial Service	96	143
24.	Survey (Madras)	—	23
Total :—			9949

These 24 Departments had in all 9949 officers but the Commission enquired into 7857 posts i.e. roughly 79% of the combined total posts. These were as under :—

(1)	Indian and Provincial Civil Services accounted for	3983
(2)	Medical and Kindred	1387
(3)	Public Works and Railway (Engineering) Deptts.	928
(4)	Police Force	926
(5)	Education Department	633

As per the recommendations of the Commission the total annual costs to the Exchequer was to the tune of Rs, 22, 63, 568.

The Commission took the evidence of 413 Government officials and interviewed 164 Citizens. The Commission recieved 957

written statements either from Individuals or Institutions. It met first in Madras on the 31st December 1912 and presented its report on 14th August 1915. This Report was published in book form in 1916. This Report is published in 20 volumes under the Caption.

"Royal Commission of Services in India".

The Commission first came to India in December 1912 and after interviewing officials and non-officials returned to England for the purpose of coming to India again in September 1913. The Commission worked till April 1914. While in Madras on 8th January 1913 though Lord Islington detailed the Commission's earnest endeavor to reach a reasonable basis of agreement which will give satisfaction both to the just demands of the services to the legitimate aspirations of

His Majesty's Indian subjects and in consonance with the orderly development of the administration of India, the position was just the contrary. Lord Islington was sometimes found to be partial and stopped cross examination by Gokhale when officials were in a tight corner. This attitude gave a faint idea as to the final drafting of the report. Gokhale had high hopes that though the Commission consisted of Europeans in a majority, they would support his line of thinking. On the contrary, he found that the deliberations of the Commission in London were becoming a matter with Lord Islington taking a markedly not favourable line to that taken up by M. B. Chaubal, Abdur Rahim and himself. Gokhale wanted the Commission to agree to some principles but the members held divergent views and would not agree to any concessions. The strain of the Commission's arduous work compelled Gokhale to leave for India on 7th November 1914 with the hope of returning to England by March 1915 but that was not so. He died in Poona on 19th February 1915 and thus his untimely death prevented him from participating in the deliberations to formulate the final recommendations of the report.

Meanwhile, because of his poor health, Gokhale had requested one of the members of the Commission and his close friend Sir Mahadeo Bhaskar Chaubal the then Education Minister of Bombay Presidency to send him periodical reports of the Commission's meetings. Accordingly Chaubal had addressed exactly twelve letters during a period of one year i.e. between 3rd January 1914 to 9th January 1915. These letters are not only historic but leave a lasting impression on the minds of readers of the close friendship he had with Gokhale—the great son of the India. These letters are full of information and give an account of Chaubal's devotion towards the duty assigned to him.

The letter reproduced below will give some idea to the readers as to the nature of these letters :—

16th November 1914.

My Dear Gokhale, —

The first meeting to consider the amendments sent in is to come off tomorrow. I wrote to you I was not going to see the chairman till after this meeting but the last three days cold and my throat and cough made me change my mind and I went to see him this morning to ask him when I could leave and that I was afraid I would not be able to stand the increasing cold. He said if I could I would have to struggle on till the end of December (a month and a half he said); but that of course if my health did not permit I could leave earlier i.e. after I had been able to put my views on important points before the whole commission so far as the main report and the principal services were concerned. I told him about the technical difficulties in the way of my rejoining my appointment and the difficulty of my being granted any leave to serve on the commission again in spring. He said he would ask the S. ofs. tomorrow abt. it, when he expected to meet him: but observed that technical difficulties of that kind could always be met. Then I told him that it was with great reluctance that I put to him the consideration of my personal health—but that I did not see why the Indian members should be forced to stay here in winter to work, when the commission was studiously anxious to avoid the Indian summer and autumn.

Then the talk drifted on generally to the work of the commn. that was to begin from tomorrow: he said no doubt the final shape of the Report would only be ready in spring—but we could settle a great deal before then: I write this, however, to let you know the general impression left on my mind from his

talk : and that impression distinctly is that there would be no chance of any compromise on the lines of our joint statement that we put in & was curserily considered at the meeting on Oct. 22nd. He proposes to go thr' the amendments one by one as was done on the subcommittee reports and take votes and settle points with a view to the final draft of the report. I think on the main points, abt the Civ. service, abt. the differential rates of salary for English recruits and statutory natives of India—abt. the proportions that we claim & c. they will not come down to the minimum that we claim. I will write to you later on in the week as to what goes on from day to day till Friday when I will post the whole thing to you. I have written to the Secrs. today to post to you the amendments that come in (with a view to your seeing how the minds of individual members are working) saying you had expressed a desire to have them. I tried to see Sir Th, Morison on coming away from the Chairman—but he had not turned up till lunch time in his chamber. P.S. One thing the Chairman said is Your reference M. B. Chaubal rather important & I forgot to mention it. That relates to his own personal opinion. He observed that *he would not recommend anything that he as a practical administrator*

would not be prepared to give effect to : & this I consider rather ominous. I hope I am mistaken—but that's my present guess. You had, therefore, rather begin preparing the draft skeleton of a dissenting report—So that our work in spring when we meet again may be easier. I wish you would consider the advisability of drafting the dissenting report to the minimum that we put forward in our joint note—so that I can join in it whole-heartedly. I think a dissenting report on the extras lines is likely to be ignored as the view of faddists and partisans and it will only be easier for the authorities to ignore it : that if it were a well reasoned demand for something which as reasonable we were entitled to claim under the present circumstances. More hereafter.

Yours
Sd/—M.B.C.

I had the privilege to get the copies of these 12 historic letters from the grandson of Late Shri Chaubal. Unfortunately these letters are still unpublished. If arrangements are made to publish them, they will throw light on an era when the British had started consolidating power in India. Such is the importance attached to these letters.



Current Affairs

THE INDIAN OCEAN: THE SOVIET UNION CALLS FOR A DIALOGUE

High-ranking officials in the American administration have of late been exerting themselves to prove that the USSR is allegedly preparing a nuclear war against the West, that aggressive tendencies are gaining ground in its policy.

The Soviet Union threatens no one. It persistently and invariably works for the solution of all disputed international issues through negotiation, including the main decisive one, the limitation of armaments and disarmament. The Soviet Union, as L. I. Brezhnev pointed out in his interview to the West German magazine *Der Spiegel*, is ready to take concrete, well thought out and just measures to reduce tension and eliminate the seats of conflicts on the vast expanses from Central Europe to the far East, including the Middle East, the Persian Gulf zone and the Indian Ocean.

The Soviet-American dialogue on the demilitarization of the Indian Ocean took place in the period from June 1977 to February 1978. The very fact of the beginning of the talks held against the background of the United States' sharply increasing "military presence" in the zone of the Ocean was favourably received in many of the Indian Ocean countries and appraised by them as certain progress towards establishing security in the Indian Ocean. At the beginning of 1978, however, that is, long before the events

in Afghanistan now referred to by Washington in a bid to justify its position, the United States unilaterally interrupted the talks and has since then stubbornly refused to resume them.

Having interrupted talks with the Soviet Union, the United States has further stepped up its military preparations in the region, having as its ultimate goal military-strategic consolidation of its positions in the Indian Ocean on a permanent footing. The most important instrument in attaining this goal, according to the Pentagon's calculations, is to build American military bases, a chain of which has already stretched from South Africa, across Kenya, Somalia and Oman to Australia. And in the central part of the Ocean is the main strong point of the American military, the base in the island of Diego Garcia, where nuclear weapons intended for Asia are being stockpiled.

In a bid to strengthen its forward-based system in the Indian Ocean, regarded by the Pentagon as an important flank of the NATO bloc, the American administration allocates enormous sums of money to extend and modernize its military bases situated there. To strengthen the naval base in the island of Masira and to build several other military objectives in the Sultanate of Oman, said the *Financial Times*, the USA plans to spend 1,000 million dollars.

An essentially new situation in the North-

Western part of the Indian Ocean is created by the rapid militarization of Pakistan included in the orbit of American imperialism's global strategy. Having concluded in the summer of 1981 a contract under which the USA will in the coming five years be annually supplying Pakistan with weapons and military equipment worth 400 million dollars, Washington hopes for Islamabad's "reciprocal steps".

The American authorities hope, not without reason, that the Zia-Ul-Haq regime will place at their disposal the naval base in the port of Gwadar and the air base in Peshwar. As for Karachi, that port is already being actively used by ships of the US navy. The American command attaches special importance to the Karachi base, considering that from there its interventionist "rapid deployment force" will be able considerably sooner to reach the Persian Gulf and the countries of the Middle East than from the base in Diego Garcia.

The American authorities utterly ignore the fact that the militarization of Pakistan upsets the military balance in the region and endangers the neighbouring countries, India above all. When delivering to Islamabad the latest weapons, including F-16 fighters, Washington cannot but be well aware that in the past Pakistan already repeatedly used armed force against India.

In contrast to the United States, making efforts to establish its supremacy in the Indian Ocean, the Soviet Union consistently works to make the region a zone of lasting peace and stability. This is evidenced by the Soviet proposals advanced by Brezhnev during his visit to India in December 1980. This is also confirmed by the peace programme for the 1980s proclaimed at the 26th CPSU Congress.

It is in this context that the call of the Warsaw Treaty member countries to resume the dialogue on the demilitarization of the Indian Ocean should be viewed. The achievement of agreement on this important problem of our times, which concerns the interests of several dozens of big and small states, would undoubtedly promote international peace and security, would further strengthen the independence of the young Indian Ocean countries. It would like-wise help to activate here equal and mutually advantageous cooperation for peaceful, creative purposes. It is now Washington's turn to speak up.

Information Dept. USSR Consulate
General Calcutta.

GOALS OF U. S. FOREIGN POLICY

...We want a world that respects the rights and dignity of the individual. We believe that individual freedom will flourish in a world where change takes place peacefully and where every nation can fashion its own future free from threats and acts of force.

The Reagan Administration recognizes that our ideal cannot be achieved through empty declarations but must be structured within a framework appealing to the self-interests of other nations. This framework rests on four pillars: the restoration of American economic health and military strength; the renewal of our traditional alliances and development of new friendship; the promotion of peaceful progress in developing nations; and the achievement of a relationship with the Soviet Union based on restraint and reciprocity.

First, the effort to restore economic health so crucial to our domestic wellbeing is also central to the successful conduct of all our

policies abroad. Without a strong economy we will face increasing difficulty in providing the resources needed for a strong foreign policy. Without a strong economy the United States will face continuing frictions with its major allies who are also our major trading partners. And without a strong economy the United States will not be able to provide the trade and access to markets that are the greatest force for economic progress in the developing world.

President Reagan has also presented a comprehensive program to restore our military strength. This includes modernization of all three legs of the indispensable triad of strategic deterrence, of NATO intermediate range nuclear forces; and of our conventional defenses. American strength is not to be used for aggression. But there can be no doubt that we are willing to use it to resist aggression, to protect friends and allies, and to defend our vital interests.

Secondly, the Reagan Administration is developing more effective partnerships with America's traditional allies and with our newer friends. Strategic Cooperation is not a favor the United States grants to weaker nations—it is an imperative of security. Nor is strategic cooperation a substitute for our own strength—the United States must be strong if it is to help its friends and to make it safe for them to cooperate with us. We need allies who are strong so they in turn can assist us.

America's alliances are a remarkable achievement of diplomacy and an integral aspect of our strength abroad. The combined gross national products of our European allies alone are equal to our own. To exploit that strength and to build on it, the United States is expanding consultation and coordination with our allies on the full range of

intertwined global political, economic, and security issues.

The Reagan Administration is also broadening its cooperation with threatened states in critical regions. We are assisting Tunisia, the Sudan and other nations in resisting Libyan expansionism. We support Egypt and Israel not only in meeting their security requirements but in furthering the Camp David peace process they initiated. We are strengthening Saudi Arabia and other friendly nations along the Vital Persian Gulf. Our renewed cooperation with Pakistan reflects not only our concern over turmoil in Iran and aggression in Afghanistan, but also our appreciation of the role a secure Pakistan can play in enhancing regional security. We are also developing a strategic association with China....

The third great Foreign policy task of the Reagan Administration is the promotion of peaceful progress. We are concerned especially with helping developing nations, both because we share with them the post colonial experience and because as trading partners their strong economies are increasingly crucial to our prosperity and security. President Reagan's participation in the Cancun Summit demonstrated the commitment of this Administration to cooperation with developing nations. To spur economic progress we offer effective economic assistance and access to private capital, markets and technology—essential factors for development....

This Administration also provides generous humanitarian relief. We are the biggest donor both to the United Nations Conference on African Refugees, and to the United Nations relief program for two million Afghan refugees from Soviet aggression.....

The fourth great task of the Reagan Administration's foreign policy is to establish a constructive relationship with the Soviet

Union. We are engaging in frank discussions with the Soviets on every major issue and on every level, including correspondence between President Reagan and President Brezhnev, and meetings between Secretary Haig and Foreign Minister Gromyko. We have told them we seek a constructive relationship based on a secure military balance, respect for the independence of others, restraint in the use of force, and reciprocity in making and fulfilling agreements. We have conveyed our desire for balanced and verifiable arms reductions so as to make the world safer.

—Span

TALES BY GENERAL ZIA

The Pakistani military ruler, General Zia-Ul-Haq, has shown a knack for invention. In his recent interview with magazine Asia Week he claimed that Pakistan was threatened by Soviet invasion.

Quite obviously, these statements belong to those political absurdities which have long set everybody's teeth on edge. There have been already plenty of such groundless warnings against "the Soviet military threat to South-West Asia and the Middle East" and the Russians' striving to "gain access to warm seas and imperil oil-bearing regions".

What matters here, however, is why the head of the military regime has harped on the same string just now? The answer is prompted by the afore-mentioned interview in which General Zia-Ul-Haq vigorously appealed to all "progressive and democratic forces of the world" not to forget about the situation concerning Afghanistan because of developments in Poland. The anxiety shown by Zia and his entourage is quite understandable. All the fuss over the Polish events,

blown up by certain circles, in a sense, moves to the background the so-called Afghan question and consequently, General Zia with all his excessive ambitions. In the meantime, an agreement on military cooperation between Washington and Islamabad has become a reality. Pentagon has notified the US Congress of the decision to sell Pakistan weapons to the tune of 396 million dollars—this is in addition to 3,200 million dollars worth of military aid rendered by the Reagan administration. But the Pakistani rulers are still thirsty for new monetary injections, new armaments.

If there were nothing more to these anti-Soviet inventions, long disproved and criticised in most mideastern and South West Asian countries on whose behalf the General unbiddenly volunteered to speak, Zia-Ul-Haq's statements would have hardly stirred up any comment. However, he has gone as far as intimidating his own people with "the Soviet threat," picturing the ordeal to be afflicted upon the country by Soviet intrusion. By order from the Zia-Ul-Haq government, the country's academic establishments are busy moulding the opinion of the rising generation.

This should be quite an expected reaction to those who have, at least, a slight notion about the situation in Pakistan. Charging the Soviet Union with "violating democracy", General Zia-Ul-Haq and his accomplice have obviously surpassed all the limits, since it is well known that no other but the Pakistani military regime has virtually smothered all democratic freedoms in the country. What "free elections" can one talk about when, on coming to power, the military junta led by Zia-Ul-Haq cancelled them altogether?

No less ridiculous are the complaints that the communists allegedly throw people

in prison without trial and investigation. Thousands of Pakistanis languish behind the bars for months and years not only without any signed warrant but also without any indictment. Magazine Far Eastern Economic Review describes the following case. A while ago, 34-year-old lawyer Aitzaz Akhsan, former Minister in the last civil government in Pakistan, was arrested on charges of having criticised the military regime in public. Waiting for a verdict, he spent half a year in a Multan prison in a cell where the temperature ran 40 degrees above zero. Once he came across a copy of the Pakistani Times which, like all other periodicals, is subject to rigorous censorship. The newspaper frontpaged the photo of smiling General Zia-Ul-Haq, saying: "There are no political prisoners in Pakistan."

Despite all the hardships, Aitzaz had not lost a sense of humor. So, he called in a prison official and pointing to the newspaper, demanded: "On what grounds do you keep me here? Let me out immediately. That is the order of the President."

Zia-Ul-Haq's words obviously do not comply with his deeds in Pakistan. There are thousands of political prisoners; any parties, except the most reactionary ones are banned and even for the slightest offence people are whipped and caned.

Clearly, General Zia launched the scare campaign against "the Soviet yoke" on quite reasonable considerations. The General cannot be unaware that not only does the USSR have any intention to "seize Pakistan" but it has repeatedly voiced its readiness to develop with that country relations based on equality and mutual benefit. The Pakistanis are deliberately kept ignorant of the constructive proposals by the Afghan Government and Soviet leaders to bring the situation in South-West Asia to normal. Equally hushed up is the

Soviet Union's respect for the cultural riches of other peoples and their religions.

Apparently, General Zia-Ul-Haq could have thought of no other camouflage to explain to the people why all the military arrangements fraught with an economic havoc are underway. It is also suitable to account for the five-year-long martial law, the crack-down on democratic freedoms and police reprisals.

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of the USSR Consulate General in Calcutta

NGRTH AND SOUTH

Did the North-South summit conference held in Cancun, Mexico, in October, 1981 only serve to add one more term to the existing stock of political verbiage? Whether the summit produced any concrete results may be doubted, but its relevance in the present world context can never be called in question. For one thing, it was brought about by a new awareness of international ethics animating world forums: the need for a more equitable sharing of wealth by all the countries.

It is now widely admitted that the present monetary system is based on world conditions that prevailed thirty-five years ago when American economy and the dollar were powerful, the riches of the major European countries were built on colonial exploitation, and the Third World had not emerged as a vocal bloc. A dozen rich nations of the North now control about three quarters of the world's wealth. They dictate the rules of world trade and finance. They reaped the benefits of the Industrial Revolution and now, armed with mighty nuclear weapons and backed by vast military-industrial establishments, manipulate

world politics to their own economic advantage. Though there is much talk of inflation in Western countries, a World Bank report states that these nations are steadily growing richer, while the per capita income of poor nations is not likely to rise much in the coming decade. The GNP per head in the U.S. is 7060 dollars while the figure for India is 150 dollars ! The poor nations are not begging for the wealth of richer nations. What they are asking for is the establishment of a new international economic order (NIEO). It was the recognition of this need that led to the formation of the Brandt Commission, the first visible outcome of which was the Cancun conference.

Even earlier studies had made disturbing revelations. Of the 1400 million tonnes of food and feed grain produced annually, developed countries eat half, and their animals eat a quarter of the grain equivalent of the total human consumption of China and India put together. The U.S.A. with only 6 per cent of world population consumes a third of world production of energy and raw materials. According to reports, world food production has grown significantly faster than world population. After the Second World War production of food between 1949 and 1975 increased by 155 per cent, while the population increased only 67 per cent. Over the same period the quantity of rice available per person doubled. This gives the lie to the assertion frequently made in developed countries that the increase of population in under-developed countries is the main cause of all the economic problems of the world.

The Brandt Commission's recommendation to transfer resources from the rich to the poor countries in substantial measure—50 to 60 billion dollars annually over current levels—within the next five years has not evoked any

enthusiastic response in the North. One point however, is to be remembered. The U.S. and some European countries now spend billions of dollars on providing arms to the countries of the Third World with the ostensible purpose of containing Russian domination, but this does not prove to be an answer to the challenge of Soviet ideology. Some constructive steps to reduce the wide economic disparities between developed and under-developed countries will be the only effective answer to that challenge.

—Prabuddha Bharat.

ACCIDENTS IN MINES

There has been a sharp rise in the fatal accidents and rate of fatality in the coal mines in India during the ten months' period from January to October, 1981 as compared to the corresponding period in the year 1930. According to Directorate General of Mines Safety (DGMS) sources, 146 persons were killed and 38 others were seriously injured in 123 fatal accidents in the coal mine in India during the period from January to October this year as against 134 persons being killed and 26 others being seriously injured in 117 fatal accidents in the corresponding period last year.

The Highest rate of fatal accidents has been recorded by DGMS in the coal mines under Eastern Coalfields Limited as compared to the other Coal Companies under Coal India Ltd. According to DGMS, 33 persons were killed and 10 others were seriously injured in 28 fatal accidents in ECL mines during the ten months' period from January to October, 1981 while during the same period 32 persons were killed and 8 others were seriously injured in 32 fatal accidents in the mines under Bharat Coking Coal Ltd, 19 persons were

killed and 6 others were seriously injured in 10 fatal accidents in the mines under Central Coalfields Ltd and 28 persons were killed and 9 others were seriously injured in 26 fatal accidents in the mines under Western Coalfields Ltd. Of all these subsidiaries, mines in ECL are deepest and gassiest and mining conditions as such are most hazardous.

In non-coal mines in India, fatal accidents in the 10 months' period from January to October this year have gone down as compared to the corresponding period last year.

According to assessment of Directorate General of Mines Safety, major cause of accidents in coal mines is by roof and side falls. Mining operations expose fresh roof and sides and if the operations are not conducted in a scientific manner with proper technology and precautions are not taken to adequately support and secure roof and sides, falls may take place causing accidents. Roof and side falls contribute nearly 40 percent of the total fatal accidents in coal mines and rope haulage contributes over 20 percent besides some other reasons such as, frequent transfer of mining engineers, negligence in supervision etc.

There are about 800 coal mines and nearly 2000 non-coal mines in India employing total over 8 lakh workers.

With coal mining in India still on the conventional method and still being labour intensive, the accidents are predominantly of traditional causes. The magnitude of annual fatalities in Indian coal mines, as has been assessed by the Directorate General of Mines Safety, are about 200 and number of serious injury rate in serious accidents annually stands to be over 2000. Since nationalisation of coal industry, several measures have, however, been introduced to prevent accidents in coal mines. In addition to existing statutory

vocational training centres nationalised coal industry has set up a number of Training Institutes in its periphery to train the mine workers of all streams how to maintain safety standards in mines. This has, however, started paying dividends. Fatal accidents and rate of fatalities have started coming down since 1977. According to DGMS 237 persons were killed in 216 fatal accidents in Indian coal mines in the year 1977 while in the next successive 3 years, there has been a substantial declining trend in fatal accidents. In 1978, 186 persons were killed in 163 fatal accidents, in 1979, 184 persons were killed in 148 fatal accidents and in 1980, 159 persons were killed in 140 fatal accidents in Indian coal mines. Several social security measures have also been introduced to save the dependents of the deceased mine workers of penury, such as, life cover scheme, gratuity, etc. in addition to statutory compensation according to Workmen's Compensation Act, and also employment to the next kin of the deceased miner has been ensured. Interest of the disabled miners who are victims of serious accidents is also adequately safeguarded.

— Coal field Tribune

NOTES & NEWS

Water hyacinth—Menace to boon

Water hyacinth, generally considered as a major problem in the third world is going to become a boon to the developing countries. *Eichornia crassipes* (biological name of water hyacinth) is a fast growing and free floating weed which is a menace to navigation as well as hydroelectric production. Besides it is a breeding ground for pests and insects. Though introduced in India at the beginning of the century as an exhibit in a horticultural show,

over the years it has turned into a menace as it chokes the agriculture canals as well as any water reservoirs. The severity of the menace was so intense that United Nations Development Programme stepped in to find ways and means to control and utilise the weed. Shri Lanka, Bangladesh and Malaysia undertook a programme on biological control and biogas production, India's choice was to investigate the utility of this enormous quantity of weed in paper making. India has also used water hyacinth in their gober gas plants in a particular proportion and found the residual fertiliser more nitrogen nutritious for the plants.

The technology for converting weed into paper was developed through an international project initiated in 1978 by the London based commonwealth science council. The Regional Research Laboratory (RRL) at Hyderabad is making writing paper, poster paper, invitation cards, etc., from the leaves of water hyacinth collected from various lakes of the city. As the raw material is practically free the cost of paper works out to be very cheap. From the environmental point too, this will clear the breeding ground of insects but also save our valuable forests which are sources of raw material for paper. Indiscriminate deforestation has robbed the country of its natural climatic conditions. This substitute raw material will save many a tree and help restore environmental quality.

This new source of raw material for paper industry will have great impact not only in India but in many parts of the world. Recently when scientists from collaborating countries visited RPL pilot plant, the impression they carried was to set up similar plants in their own countries.

The average yield of water hyacinth per

hectare is 50 tonnes and the four million hectares covered by this weed in India will yield a minimum of 200 million tonnes, a non-forest raw material for paper industry. Taking appropriate accounts for wastage and efficiency the country should be able to produce more than 10 million tonnes of paper through this source. A successful commercialisation will usher into an age of mini paper mills around the raw material available areas and a revolution like mini steel mills of yesteryears is bound to follow. It seems, it is possible to utilise the process on a cottage industry scale too as unskilled workers can handle the process successfully. Council of Scientific and Industrial Research, under which RRL is working, need be congratulated for this successful development of new technology in the need based development of the country.

— Science and Culture

ISRAEL'S FOOD INDUSTRY FORGES AHEAD

Israel is rapidly growing into a food exporter of importance in world markets. Her citrus, fresh fruit and vegetable exports have long been famous—who has not heard of the prize Jaffa orange? But the scope of her products has expanded over the years till now there is scarcely a type of foodstuff that is not sent out of Israel. In America, in Europe and in the Far East, they are eating Israel-style.

TOMATOES AND DRINKS

Many Processed products are made from Israel's fruit and vegetables, such as tinned citrus, peppers and tomatoes. In particular, the range of tomato products seems endless—tomato sauce, pizza sauce, tomato juice, cann-

ed tomatoes. In fact anything made from tomatoes is made in Israel.

These agricultural products are also processed into drinks. Nectars, concentrates, squashes, juices, frozen drinks of all kinds are sold abroad, by such firms as Assis and Jaf-Ora. These are often sold in bulk containers to wholesalers abroad who market them in leading stores and catering establishments under their own label. In England these stores include the renowned Marks & Spencer chain, which sells much Israeli produce, including candies and chocolates from Elite, familiar to Israelis for their chocolate and instant coffee.

THE MEAT MARKET

Israel is well entrenched in the market for poultry products. Leading Israeli turkey meat processors, such as Hod Lavan, belonging to the moshav Beit Herut, even penetrated the difficult American market, passing all their strict sanitary requirements. Gourmet cuts of turkey, rolls, thighs, breasts and schnitzels are enjoyed in Europe and America. There is also talk of selling them in South Africa and further east.

Hod Avaz in Kiryat Malachi processes Israel's goose livers and sells them to France and Germany to be made into luxurious pates. Though it has penetrated successfully into foreign markets the economic viability of this branch is still in doubt. Not many Israelis can afford to feast on goose liver—but some hope to be able to make a good living from the proceeds of the sales.

Duck meat is another delicious export. The mulard duck, a hybrid of the Peking and Barbary ducks, originated in Israel. Its luscious red meat is sold to top hotels and restaurants abroad, as a unique gourmet food. The mulard is definitely something new in the

world of ducks and the exports of its meat are rising rapidly.

DAIRY AND WINE

Israel is also beginning to be known as an exporter of sophisticated dairy products. Goat cheeses from Tnuva, Israel's leading dairy, are going to the United States and Common Market countries. One great advantage of Israeli cheeses is that they are Kosher and can be eaten by Orthodox Jews who will not eat regular cheese. However a leading exporter commented that many non-Jews are getting a taste for Kosher food abroad and the Kosher label is a selling point rather than a disadvantage.

Egypt is now among our customers presently absorbing Israeli butter, eggs, apples and bananas. It is hoped that as normalization proceeds, Egypt will be buying much more.

Many of the products mentioned are sold within Israel for Israelis to enjoy. Of course only a minority of Israelis can afford goat's cheese, duck meat and the like; however if goose liver and turkey are beyond your means, you will still be able to afford the juicy jaffa oranges, prize vegetables and fruits...and whereas in most countries the Jaffa is reckoned a luxury, in Israel the Golden orange is among the cheapest food.

Israelis abroad are often surprised to see that the sweater they buy on New York's Fifth Avenue or London's Oxford Street has a 'Made in Israel' label. Increasingly, the gourmet food they buy in a supermarket or order in a restaurant during their travels to distant places may also have been produced in Israel.

INTRODUCTION

The poet and novelist, Aleksandar Vuco, has occupied a prominent place amongst avant-garde writers in Yugoslavia for over fifty years. His book "Krov nad Prozorom" ("The Roof above the Window"), published in Belgrade in 1925, is his first book of poetry. This work does not mark the commencement of his poetic research, since, at the time of its publication, he was already in the public eye as one of a group of writers in Belgrade who were opposed to the main current of official literature immediately after the first World war. He was one of the founders of the Belgrade Surrealist movement and one of its active participants upto the period when the Belgrade Surrealists joined the anti-Facist political forces and entered into the Revolutionary movement led by the Yugoslav Communist Party. On the eve of the second World War, Vuco was the editor of the literary magazine, "Nasa Stvarnost" ("Our Reality"), which made an important contribution to the mobilization of the people who were prepared to face and fight the approaching Facist aggression. He was one of the founders of Yugoslav post-war film art and an active participant of the Yugoslav Writers' Association. He is the author of a number of novels and books of poetry and currently engaged in writing a novel with an autobiographical background.

The primary characteristic of his poetry is a subtle lyricism combined with a fine sense for linguistic expression of feelings based on the cognition of his inner space. Projecting himself through his poems as an objective image, able to communicate feelings which flow between sub-consciousness and consciousness, he explores the marginal area between linguistic possibility of expression and impossibility of linguistic formulation of his thoughts. He tries to overbridge the conflict caused by the imposition of linguistic rules in his efforts to express his poetical feelings. In this respect, this book is not only a novelty from the point of view of expression of poetical thoughts but also interesting as a successful attempt to organize the atmosphere accompanying his global attitude towards life's main attributes such as love, although "Krov nad Prozorom" cannot be defined exclusively as love poetry.

This translation is the result of a study of the problem of the possibility to transfer poetical thought from one language system to another, in this case from Serbo-Croat to English, and to what extent it is possible to do so. We hope that the study which is in progress will show how two different linguistic structures behave towards the poetical content, how they transform it and how poetry can be communicated from one language to another.

The Serbo-Croat text of this translation is printed separately and may be obtained from the same publisher if desired, as the original edition is out of print.

"Translated from Serbo-Croat"
by
ALOKANANDA MITTER"

DISPERSION

Captivated by whirling flight of snowflakes
Swoon of abyss and torrent of rivers
Attracted by winding trails of smoke
The more my distant precious self
Is troubled when I leave this tangled web

Dispersion is my weakness and like a feeble secret
I clutch to my heart the image lost through the past
Recovered I want to drain salvation with radiant person
For if I go thus half the way
I shall meet and disperse my self

Now, with my body's contact some trace of signs already stay
Division makes me smaller and smaller nothing will put me together
In vain for something new let wisdom be thrown
Outside the borderlines let thoughts gush out

I spill my heart by chance like a full glass of water
Sometimes when fields are fully white
I spent night as day and today as tomorrow
Plucked thoughts lead me soundlessly
To the line of one flank, radiance of gay morning

DISPERSION

47

A long time back highways crossed
And rent my body on four known sides
I move with branch-like forking legs
And all paths lead the way the finger points
With confusion of my footprints tracked

Now I know the wide door through which I eject myself
The smallest sin carries me through the slit with pen-like ease
When windows start to sing with sun and streets approach
For one swift look the colour of wild honey
From my fresh iris flowed all colours of a laugh

I know this strange dissolution when the body thins
And tracks which suck me between the fields and sky
If my hands were longer my fingers would touch all secrets
And it would cost me little to dissolve me to the end
To offer portions of my soul instead of lumps of bread

And you, most beautiful and best, if I enthralled
Pour in you all these scattered parts
Through omnipotent jets through night through day through blood
And your round swollen breasts
I would discover myself with a scream of joy

I would let this invisible bridge spring up
And only us unite with curves of blood
The way will be shorter to accustom my mind
To find only me in you with my own gaze

Why are you not the sun a road smoke or voice
And naked to the end and quite unveiled
My dispersion's poison would be late at the last hour
And I would be so much within you
Were you slightly less a woman

And now not one day passes when my thoughts do not disperse
Words which I utter and all nervous jerk of motion
In some strange people must be found
As if we all left together so the same current took us all

I think due to others some fields are less green
Some feet do not stay when quicker steps approach along the road
Hills reach giddy heights due to abysses
And through lost lives new lives now start to rise

Indian and Foreign Periodicals

RACE FOR ARMS

Maj.—Gen. Svyatoslav Kozlov (Ret.) writes in "Backgrounder"—

The continued race for arms, primarily, nuclear weapons, whose quantity and quality has reached a very dangerous level, is an obvious reality of the current world situation. Either the arms race will be bridled and mankind saved from its burden and appalling aftermath or the world will be sliding more and more quickly to the nuclear precipice. Everybody understands that the arms race means reciprocal escalation. One side matches the build-up of the other with its own build-up. This ruinous competition can only be stopped by a reciprocal effort in consent of the confronting sides. It is also clear at which point the arms race can be stopped: It is the attainment of parity when the potentialities of the opposing sides are equalized, when neither side has an advantage and when a situation appears where it is possible to conduct an equitable dialogue on the mutual limitation of the existing military potentials and then on lowering their level on the basis of the strict observance of the Principle of equality and equal security.

The existence of the approximate military parity between the USSR and the USA, between the Warsaw pact and NATO is an indisputable fact. It is corroborated by the official data which the sides exchanged during the drafting and signing of the SALT-2 Treaty

in 1979 and confirmed by the numerous pronouncements of statesmen from both sides, including officials of the current US administration.

The Soviet Union had to exert strenuous effort in a number of years after the end of World War 2 to achieve the current strategic parity with the United States.

In the early sixties the USA was the first to embark on a mass scale deployment of ballistic missiles both on its own territory and in allied countries, for instance, Turkey. Dozens of US nuclear submarines with Polaris and then Poseidon missiles on board appeared in the world's oceans. The Trident submarines each carrying 24 improved versions of the 16 missiles, installed on the older submarines, are already being produced to replace them.

In the early seventies Washington was the first to equip its intercontinental missiles with high-accuracy MIRVES. It was the US which launched the development of strategic Cruise Missiles way back in 1972 and has now started implementing the plans of deploying thousands of Cruises in the air, land and sea launching environments.

The quantity and quality of US armaments are not enough to assess the threat posed by them. Their location should also be considered. In this respect the US has a considerable strategic advantage. It has over 1,500 well-equipped military, air and naval bases in all parts of the globe: from America and

the Atlantic to the Mediterranean and a number of West European countries and from Iceland to Turkey. The US has acquired bases in the Indian Ocean—on different Islands and the Western Coast of Australia. In the Pacific the US has military facilities on South Korea and on many islands, including those belonging to Japan and the Philippines.

The system of strategically interconnected bases is an advantageous bridgehead for a large-scale offensive of rapid deployment and conventional forces, supported by medium-range nuclear-missile weapons which the Pentagon is planning to site not in Europe alone.

The level of the US global military threat is further enhanced by the potentials and geographical location of the US allies. NATO not only ensured the infrastructure of Europe-based US forces but also the use of troops and weapons in the Pentagon-planned allied actions. In addition to that, such NATO members as Britain and France possess a nuclear-missile potential of their own, contributing at least 300 carriers to the overall 1,000-strong delivery vehicle potential of the US forward-based systems.

The Soviet Union has never strived for military superiority. But neither will it permit the building up of such superiority over itself. The USSR has everything necessary to prevent this. "The defence potential of the Soviet Union must be at a level that would deter anyone from attempting to disrupt our peaceful life. Not superiority in weapons, but a course aimed at reducing armaments, at easing the military confrontation—such is our policy."

Information Dept—USSR Consulate General

THE SOVIET MILITARY BUILDUP

(a Pentagon Report)

A new study of "Soviet Military Power"

conducted by the U. S. Defense Department shows the Soviet Union moving rapidly ahead in its worldwide military buildup. Excerpts from the report recently released by US Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger is as follows :

...The USSR's enhanced confidence in its capabilities to project power through a variety of military and nonmilitary means has widened Soviet options and has been a key factor underlying its increased activities in Africa, the Middle East, Asia and Latin America. In the military realm alone, involvement abroad has progressed steadily from the limited use of military assistance in the 1950's to the occasional use of its armed forces in defensive roles in the early 1970's, to the direct application of large-scale Soviet military force in Afghanistan since December 1979".

Trends in the Soviet military force buildup over the past 15 years have resulted in a number of improvements allowing for the increased use of military power to support foreign policy Goals. Primary among these have been the development of an effective navy with global capability and the expansion of strategic airlift capability. Soviet military leaders have long recognized the political significance of these improvements, and in the early 1970s began making authoritative statements about the utility of Soviet armed forces beyond the borders of the U. S. S. R.

...Soviet leaders continue to refute any inconsistency between detente with the west and their growing support of revolutionary activism and insurgencies in the Third World. They believe that comprehensive aid to progressive forces is a moral requirement rather than interference by an external power. Article 28 of the 1977 Soviet Constitution specifically commits the Soviet Union to support wars of "national liberation"...

In their projection of power the Soviets include the pursuit of specific military objectives, for example, the acquisition of over flight clearances and access to facilities abroad—to support the military operations of Soviet and friendly forces and to expedite the air and sea lift of military equipment to Third World clients and insurgent forces. Overseas facilities ease the logistic problems of operating naval forces and aircraft at great distances from the Soviet homeland.....

ARMS SALES :

Since their origin in 1955 with a \$ 250 million arms agreement with Egypt, the Soviet Unions' military Sales have grown into a multibillion dollar annual programme. These sales form the basis for Soviet penetration of a number of Third World Countries, providing Moscow access to nations and regions where it previously had little or no influence. In the last 25 years, the Soviets have granted over \$ 50 billion in military assistance to 54 noncommunist nations, with 85 percent going to nine nations in the Middle East and along the Indian Ocean littoral. This is supplemented by \$ 4.3 million in arms Sales by Warsaw Pact allies.

Provision of more Complex equipment at higher prices resulted in a nearly threefold increase in Soviet arms sales in the period 1974-1980 in contrast to the previous 20 years. Four major Arab client States accounted for over 70 o/o of the \$ 37 billion in arms aid during this period. Sales to India and Ethiopia accounted for another 15 o/o. Recent exports include such advanced systems as the Mig-25 and Mig 23 fighters, the SA-6 and SA-9 missiles, the Mi-24/Hind attack helicopter and the T-72 tank.

MILITARY ADVISERS :

In 1980, approximately 20,000 Soviet military personnel were stationed in 28

countries, where they play a central role in organizing, training and penetrating client-armed forces..... Since 1955, some 52,000 military personnel from the less-developed countries have been trained in the USSR and East Europe.

FORCES FOR POWER PROJECTION :

The Soviets of late have been more aggressive in their use of military force to protect their power and influence. These activities have ranged from sizable Soviet and Cuban presence, including on-site participation by the current chief of Soviet ground forces in Ethiopia during the war with Somalia, to the invasion of Afghanistan by Soviet troops in 1979.

AIRBORNE AND SPECIAL PURPOSE UNITS :

Because of their mobility, the Soviet Union's seven Airborne divisions are particularly well-suited for the rapid introduction of combat forces into a foreign country. The Soviets threatened such action in the Middle East wars of 1967 and 1973, and in 1979 airborne units were the spear-head elements of the move into Afghanistan..... While Soviet long distance airlift capabilities continue to lag behind those of the United States the Soviets could move under optimum conditions, major elements of an airborne division to a country such as Syria in three-to-five days.....

THE SOVIET NAVY

has proven to be the most effective force thus far in projecting power beyond the USSR's borders.

Since 1966 there has been a dramatic increase in Soviet port visits focused on the Mediterranean, the Indian Ocean and the coast of West Africa. Since 1967, the Soviets have established a number of forward naval

deployments which provide the nucleus for augmentation during periods of tension. The Mediterranean and most recently, the Indian Ocean Squadron in 1980, have both been reinforced to counter Western navies during times of crises. These deployment patterns demonstrate the Soviets' capability rapidly to assert their interests in regions far from the Soviet Unions' borders.

The Soviet navy views access to Support facilities and protected anchorages as an important adjunct to their operations in distant areas. Currently, the Soviets have access to such facilities in South Yemen, Ethiopia, Vietnam and Cuba and have recently made their first naval port call to Libya.

Access to foreign naval and air facilities has improved Soviet capabilities to monitor and Counter Western naval units in the Atlantic and Indian Oceans and in the South China Sea. Soviet Naval and antisubmarine warfare aircraft routinely deploy to nations offering such facilities to conduct surveillance and training missions. Access to air facilities in South Yemen and Ethiopia has been particularly useful for the Soviets in gathering intelligence on U. S. Naval units in the Indian Ocean and has improved their ability to conduct strike operations in this region. The operation of these air craft from client state facilities gives a further visible presence to Soviet military power and influence in the region.

In addition to enhancing the U. S. S. R's military capabilities, access to facilities also has important political utility..... Use of such facilities provides the Soviets with a presence in the region which they can then exploit to serve their interests... The U. S. S. R will continue to use the power projection capabilities of its military forces as well as other tactics to support Soviet political-military

objectives and those of USSR client States.

—Span.

CONTINUING EDUCATION

What was once called 'adult education' has in recent years assumed great importance under the more comprehensive term 'continuing education.' This change in name reflects the change in the role educational institutions are expected to play in enhancing the socio-economic transformation of contemporary society. Democracy, industrialization and the spirit of nationalism have made education an imperative need for all citizens. Universities are now under tremendous pressure to extend educational facilities outside the normal channels and to play a more diversified and creative role in society.

The International Commission on Development of Education has emphasized the following aspects of continuing education. 'There are many possible definitions of adult education. For a large number of adults in the world today it is a substitute for the basic education they missed. For the many individuals who received only very incomplete education it is the complement to elementary or professional education. For those whom it helps respond to new demands which their environment makes on them, it is the prolongation of education. It offers further education to those who have already received high-level training. And it is a means of individual development for everybody. One or other of these aspects may be more important in one country than in another but they all have their validity.'

These five definitions reflect the educational needs of the three main strata of society: the poor, the middle class and the

affluent. The majority of people in India of course belong to the first category. Continuing education in their case should serve as a substitute for the rudiments of literacy which they could not acquire in their childhood. However, many among them have gained some technical skill without formal training and are employed in factories, workshops, etc. Providing them basic theoretical knowledge, as a complement to the manual skill which they already have, can improve their performance.

Then there are people mostly belonging to the middle class who have acquired a fairly high level of education but need higher education for further advancement in their profession. For instance, a technician who holds a diploma in engineering may need a degree. Through evening colleges and correspondence courses educational institutions try to meet this need for prolongation of education.

The most important function of continuing education, however, is in the field of raising the level of culture in the individual and in the nation. In modern times education can no longer be restricted to formal studies only meant for the youth. It has become a vital cultural process for individual development and social integration and progress.

“Prabuddha Bharata”

ON HUMAN THOUGHT

Peace of mind is the most sought after thing on earth. Every man, at one time or another, secretly longs for it.

Can you set about acquiring peace of mind without knowing what the mind is? For twentyfive centuries, Western philosophers from Plato to Bertrand Russell have delved deep into the human mind and brought to light scientific data and details about its structure and function. Indian philosophy is essentially research into its complexities: it

has even explored the deeper self of man that lies beyond it.

In the *Analysis of Mind* Bertrand Russell elaborately describes the various features and functions of the mind. Elsewhere, he defines it clearly and concisely: ‘Mind—so common sense might say—is exhibited by persons who do and suffer various things. Cognitively, they perceive, remember, imagine, abstract and infer; on the side of the emotions, they have feelings that are pleasurable and feelings that are painful, and they have sentiments, passions and desires; volitionally, they can will to do something or will to abstain from doing something.’

The functions of the mind are thus categorized as cognitive, emotional and volitional activities. The American philosopher, William James, begins his monumental work on mind as follows:

Psychology is the science of mental life, both of its phenomena and their conditions. The phenomena are such things as we call feeling, desires, cognitions, reasonings, decisions and the like; superficially considered, their variety and complexity is such as to leave a chaotic impression on the observer.¹

James rightly cautions that the mind cannot be observed superficially. A study of Russell’s ‘*The Analysis of mind*’ and James’s ‘*The Principles of Psychology*’ reveals that the human mind is the repository of thoughts. Cognition in its varied forms, emotion in its multitarious attributes, and volition in its kaleidoscopic activities emanate from thought. It therefore becomes necessary to study thought.

Annie Besant, an Irishwoman and an Indian philosopher, in her short discourse, ‘*Thought Power*’ gives an outline of human thought. She visualizes thought on a triangular foundation consisting of the Living Self as the ‘knower,’ the Not-Self as the ‘known,’ together with the ‘knowing’ which is the

vibrating relationship between the knower and the known. Thought grows as a pyramid on this foundation vanishing at its apex.

DEFINITION OF THOUGHT

She then defines thought as follows : "The thought is a reproduction within the mind of the Knower of that which is not the Knower, is not the Self ; it is a picture caused by a combination of wavemotions, an image, quite literally. A part of the Not-Self vibrates, and as the Knower vibrates in answer that part becomes the known ; the matter quivering between them makes knowing possible by putting them into touch with each other.' In other words thought is a picture or an image.

This picture is caused by the vibration of the Not-Self on the Self and the matter that operates between them makes knowing or thinking possible. According to Besant, the matter that operates is the mind which she describes as the instrument for obtaining knowledge. She compares the mind to a mirror and the images of the objects are what we see in the mind. She maintains that the mind is not the Knower. The mind is the result of past thinking constantly modified by present thinking. She refers to reading and says that reading, unless it inspires thought, will deaden the mind whereas thought alone strengthens it.

Besant describes how a thoughtform must be clearly cut and vitalized in order to transform the thought into action. Thought in a child begins as a sensation of pain or pleasure brought about by the impact of external objects. A group of recurring sensations linked in the memory evolves perception. By sensation is meant the five senses—seeing, hearing, smelling, tasting and touching. Sensations and perceptions arising in the absence of the object are called memory. Thus memory is defined as the reproduction

in mental matter by the Knower of objects previously contacted. It is a never-ending process. It is therefore evident that any number of sensations and perceptions in the absence of memory will not produce thought. If they vanish immediately like the pictures projected onto the cinema screen thoughts will never emerge from the mental matter. As the images accumulate, observation, discrimination, reason, comparison and judgment are evolved one after another.

To quicken the evolution of these faculties, Annie Besant recommends concentration which means that the mind is fastened on the object of observation and absorbs its contents. As a means of strengthening thought power, she recommends us to learn both to think and cease to think. This is easily said but difficult to practise. It is, however, a marvellous prescription for conserving energy. Besant reminds us that we do not run a machine when it is not turning out work for to do so is needlessly wearing on the machinery. But the priceless machinery of the mind is allowed to turn aimlessly, wearing itself out without any useful result. She therefore advises us to learn to cease thinking, to let the mind rest, in order to attain peace of mind and she concludes that the secret of peace is the knowledge of the Self.

J. Krishnamurti, the Indian philosopher approaches human thought in a novel way. To him, thought is obviously the response to memory. He says that it is of two kinds. If you have no memory of the road to your house you cannot get home. This kind of thought is necessary for effective action.

But thought has yet another dimension. This thought arises from the 'thinker' or 'knower' or 'observer.' According to Krishnamurti, it is the thinker who says, 'I must control that thought. He wants us to destroy

this so-called thinker who stands aloof from the actual thinking process or perception or observation. It is the thinker who obstructs the natural process of thinking which is immediate and spontaneous. We cannot remove this obstructor unless we understand the thinker as he is in himself.

Krishnamurti says that the thinker is created by secondary thoughts. He gives many illustrations to explain the nature of secondary thoughts. You look at a hill and you see the beauty of it. There is a moment of perception which is beautiful. In that perception there is thought. It is over. If you pursue its beauty it becomes pleasure. Thought immediately surges in and makes mischief.

Krishnamurti says that one can stop secondary thought by constant awareness. 'One has to be constantly watchful for the self to reveal its way and tricks.' Ordinarily we are aware of what we see, hear, smell, taste and touch. This is a normal feature of the human organism. But we are rarely aware of our thoughts. The human organism, except in the state of deep sleep, is always secreting thoughts in various forms. To develop a spontaneous awareness of such thoughts one must be extremely sensitive, alert and attentive. To develop such an awareness, two conditions are necessary. They are perception and sensitivity. Krishnamurti says: 'Perception implies complete attention. The nerves, the eyes, ears, the brain, the heart, everything is at the highest quality; otherwise there is no perception.'

So far as the second condition—that of sensitivity—is concerned, Krishnamurti gives a most scientific prescription for developing it:

The body must be highly sensitive. Not gross, not over-indulging in eating, drinking, sex and all the rest; that makes the body coarse, dull, heavy. If there is an awareness

of the body which is not being forced, then the body becomes very sensitive like a beautiful instrument.

The degree of human awareness is progressively proportional to the intensity of perception and sensitivity. Perception and sensitivity reach their climax when the mind attains the quality of meditation. In a meditative mind there is no conflict of ideas or clash of concepts. It only sees, and seeing is understanding or acting. In a mind that is acting in meditation all secondary thoughts come to an end.

We are now in a position to see that thought is an image or picture visible (not visual) to the human organism. Thought is immortal. Man dies but his thoughts never die for they are passed on from generation to generation. It is the 'thought of man that creates and destroys civilizations. The future of mankind depends on an extensive exploration of the frontiers of human thought. Dr Alexis Carrel poses the following questions on thought: is it produced by the cerebral neurons? does it insert itself into the cerebral cells and stretch outside space and time like seaweed which fastens on to a rock and lets its tendrils drift out into the mystery of the ocean? is it related to known forms of energy?

Jack Fincher says that every thought originates from an electro-chemically complex sequence of neuronal events. That process, whether it ends in Einstein's $E=MC^2$ or any other mental event, is essentially the same. It involves the systematic and instantaneous firing of (or the deliberate failure of) neurons, the basic operational unit of our brain and nervous system. A more or less identical view is held by Morris Kline to whom thoughts are biologically a series of electric currents passing through a chain of nerve cells. EEG researchers have found

that a minute burst of electricity is released in the brain when a geometrical form is imagined. A somewhat similar burst is evoked when the same geometric form is visually perceived. It is therefore concluded by Jack Fincher that the relationship of mental images to the perception they represent may be more isomorphic. This shows how secondary thoughts like wishful thinking, fantasy and wild imaginations drain energy. That is why we have to stop all secondary thinking.

We have observed the structure and functions of the mind. We have found that thoughts emanate from the mind. We have seen the close link between the mind and the brain. Though there are many theories as to the nature of the mind, they can be broadly divided into two, the one believing that the mind is identical with the brain and the other, that the mind is a non-physical quality of the human organism. David L. Mouton calls the latter theory Psychophysical Dualism. It was Rene Descartes who gave a definite shape to this theory. According to him the mind and the body are two distinct things. The body affects the mind as when you feel the prick of a pin and the mind affects the body as when you initiate the movement of your finger. However, at a later stage, Descartes accepts that the mind is located within the space of the brain. The other view is that the mind is physical and hence a part of the body, brain, and nervous system. This is the theory of Physicalism according to David L. Mouton. But opposing the thesis, the same author quotes: "A close introspective scrutiny of one's inner mental states will never reveal the passage of nerve impulses over a thousand synapses in the way that a closer scrutiny of a cloud will reveal a mass of tiny [water] particles in suspension." So we can safely

conclude that as long as we are not able to identify thoughts as the molecular processes of the brain which works like a giant telephone exchange and a master computer, we cannot remove the concept of mind from our discussions on thought.

—The Theosophist.

SPIRITUAL FOUNDATIONS OF A JUST SOCIETY

Swami Siddhinathananda

The word 'Society' may mean a human community or the entire body of mankind. Either way, society is composed of men. Man is the primary unit of society. But any collection of individuals does not make a society. It must have a set pattern and a code of conduct to regulate the relation among its members. Here comes the question of justice. Justice means righteousness, uprightness, fairness, etc. So a just society is one wherein the mutual relations of its members are guided and regulated by justice. In a small group, this may be practicable to some extent; but in the vast mass of mankind is it a practicable proposition? Is it not Utopian? It may be Utopian, but it is worthwhile to have it, for mankind must have a noble ideal to strive for. If no such ideal is kept in view, it will be the jungle law, and not human law, that will prevail among mankind. Trains may run late, but can any train run without a timetable? Rules may be observed more in their breach, yet society cannot survive without certain regulatory rules. So, even as a Utopian ideal there must be the conception of a just society. The point of our discussion here is, what could be the true foundation of a just society?

Where do we begin, at the individual end or the social end? Evidently at the individual end, because the individual is the starting

point. The personality of man has three levels : the animal, the human and the divine. In common with the sub-human creatures, man is naturally interested in preserving and perpetuating his life. At this level, he is not far removed from the quadrupeds. But endowed as he is with the power of thinking, he soon finds that for his very survival he has to depend on others. He learns that unbridled selfishness is suicidal. He has certain basic needs like food, clothes, shelter and family to live and multiply. The objects of enjoyment exist in limited quantities but man's greed is unlimited. Therefore a workable adjustment with other individuals becomes indispensable. At least a sort of non-aggression pact must prevail in society for each individual's survival. The posture of confrontation cannot continue for long, for it causes constant anxiety. So men developed certain social rules. These social rules are only a form of organized selfishness. They cannot withstand the stress and strain of self-interest. It is only the fear of retaliation that actually keeps each man in check. Prison, police, and penal codes are only the organized forms of collective retaliation. Governments function at this level.

However, this is not the whole truth about human society. Man has a spiritual dimension too. He has an innate conception of goodness and freedom. This he derives from his divine essence. Only when he becomes aware of his true spiritual essence does he deserve to be called man. Everyone thinks, 'I am, I must be, free. I value my being for itself.' This sense of selfvalue leads us to accept and respect those values for our fellow beings also.

What is the source of this sense of value and what is its sanction? The source is my own being; it is not imposed from outside. In my essence I am the Spirit, the Atman,

which knows no destruction. I am the witness of all the changes, but I am changeless. Eternally I am. I cannot conceive of a time when I was not, or, when I will not be. I must be there as the witness of both being and non-being. Pure being is my essential nature. Being knows no spatial or temporal limitation. The Infinite can be only one. Hence all existence is one in the Infinite Spirit. This is the ultimate experience of great spiritual masters and the testimony of great scriptures. This is the conclusion of Vedanta. It is this oneness of existence that gives sanction to all moral values. Why should I love my neighbour? Why should I do unto others as I would want others to do to me? If it serves my purpose, why should I not hate my neighbour? The reason is, by hating my neighbour I am hurting myself, for I and my neighbour are one in the Spirit. This spiritual oneness of all existence is the source of all moral sense, and it is the spiritual brotherhood of the human race that gives sanction to the moral governance of society.

It is the moral value that gives rise to the sense of justice. So, spiritual oneness is the ultimate foundation on which a just society may be built up. Hindu society was organized on the basis of this spiritual foundation. This scheme had twin goals to achieve : individual salvation and social justice. It is called varna-asrama-dharma—a code of living based on one's social status and stage of spiritual evolution. Varna originally meant a division of labour according to each one's aptitude. There was the intellectual class devoted to study and teaching. They were known as Brahmins. The ruling class was called the Ksatriyas. Next in social order was the business community called the Vaisyas. Then came the labouring class known as the Sudras. Each varna had its allotted duties and certain privileges. The

emphasis was always on the discharge of duties and never on privileges. It was a composite scheme for the common welfare of the whole society. But what was originally a division of labour based on the aptitude and capacity of each individual, became hereditary as the powerful classes started stressing their privileges more than the discharging of the social obligation, and that led to its degeneration and ruin.

The asrama dhrama is a course of discipline for self-improvement. As a student one learns the end and means of a perfect life which forms the foundation of his whole future. It is called Brahmacharya, the life of discipline essential for the acquisition of sacred knowledge. Next is the life of the Grhastha, the householder. The health and welfare of the society depend on him. His is a life of service. Man depends on ever so many factors for his existence. His debts to the world are innumerable. The ancients have fixed five natural debts which every one ought to discharge. The gods give us sun and rain; the Risis have, through their austerity accumulated a vast store-house of wisdom; the parents have provided us with the body; we depend on other men for mutual help; the dumb creatures we depend on for milk, manure and transport. So we are indebted to all of them. The debt to the gods is discharged by offering oblations in the fire. The Rsis will be pleased by our studying and teaching the Vedas. To propitiate the departed ancestors one has to offer libations to the manes and also produce progeny for the perpetuation of the family tradition. One must render hospitality to fellowmen. The dumb creatures have to be looked after with care and kindness. These are called the five daily yajnas of a householder. Here only duties are prescribed; there is no mention of any privileges for the householder. This

is social justice in practice. It embraces the whole creation from the gods down to the animals.

After discharging one's duties as far as possible and on reaching the age of fifty, one has to retire from social and domestic duties, entrusting them to one's son. The retired man goes to some sacred place, and enters on a life of severe penance and meditation. He is called a Vanaprastha, an anchorite. In due course, he cuts himself off from all worldly ties and takes to sannyasa, a life of total dedication to God. Thus the 'asrama dhrama' is a scheme for the attainment of spiritual freedom through the fulfilment of one's domestic and social duties. The twin schemes of 'varna' and 'asrama dharma' is the practical application of the moral obligations of each towards his fellow-beings. Its ultimate basis is the spiritual oneness of all existence. Each for all and all for each, is its directive principle. It is a scheme based on the ideal of yajna, sacrifice. Occasions for friction and injustice are reduced to the minimum. Selfishness is the root of all injustice. The 'varna' and 'asrama dharma' aim at the eradication of all selfishness.

Of late, this scheme has fallen into disuse. The Brahmacharya and Vanaprastha asramas have almost disappeared. Garhasthya remains though not exactly in the ancient form. Sannyasa too survives to some extent. The other two stages also deserve to be resuscitated in modern times. Without a proper foundation provided by the Brahmacharya asrama, a noble and fruitful life cannot be built up. The problems of the present day generation gap and of old age could be solved if a proper Vanaprastha order is organized.

The home being the unit of society, the search for justice in society must start with the home. Truly has it been said, charity begins at home. India had an age-old family

system which ensured the security and welfare of each member. It was the joint-family system where members of three or four generations lived together under a senior member. Under this system, none was neglected. The aged and the ailing, the crippled and the orphaned, the dull and the retarded, all were taken care of. To each according to his need and from each according to his capacity, was the principle on which this system was based. Necessarily, this involved a great deal of self-sacrifice which restricted the individual's freedom. Justice involves sacrifice. Modern man in search of personal freedom has broken up the joint-family with the result that each individual is left to fend for himself. As a consequence, society is faced with the problems of the orphans, the aged, the sick and the forsaken. Old people feel insecure and neglected. Society and the individual have to pay a heavy price for modern man's unbridled assertion of individual freedom.

Selfishness is the mother of all injustice. Fear of punishment may keep it in check to some extent. But the effective check can come only from within. This is possible only when one learns to value each individual for himself, for 'I and my neighbour' are one in Spirit. Here is the spiritual foundation for a just society. This spiritual contact with God and the neighbours in and through God has to be assiduously cultivated. Prayer and meditation play a very important part in daily renewing this contact. This awareness is real religion, and all moral values are derived from religion.

In modern times some countries are experimenting with the idea of building up a model society disregarding religion. Paradoxically, the very protagonists of the system may have got such an idea from the ancient monastic communities. Have they succeeded? The present indications are that

they have not. Material poverty they may have removed to a certain extent: but at what price? The whole nation is suppressed. The individual has no freedom. A few who control the State machinery dictate and decide what is good or bad for the whole country. A society without freedom is not worthy to be called a society, much less a just society. Justice springs from freedom and it thrives in freedom. It is impossible to build a society where justice finds an honourable position without the moral values derived from religion. For only religion can make man truly unselfish and enable him to recognize another's need as greater than his own. Love of God is true religion, and love of man in and through God is true morality which is the source of all justice. A life without prayer and meditation will be barren. It cannot beget true justice.

The common people follow the example set by the rulers and leaders of society. Sri Rama was 'dharma-vigraha,' justice personified. There is a fine description of the condition of the people under Rama's benign rule: 'At the time, no woman suffered widowhood. None had any harm from reptiles. Nobody suffered from any ailment. There were no thieves or robbers in the land. None had any mishap. There was no occasion for old people to perform the funeral rites of young people. All were happy; all were devoted to justice. Free from ailments and anxieties they lived long. Edible roots and fruits were plenty. Plants and trees were always in bloom. Rain fell when people needed rain. The wind blew soft and pleasant. The Brahmins, Ksatriyas, Vaisyas and the Sudras were devoted to their allotted duties, were happy in doing them and were free from greed. When Rama ruled, people were truthful and just. All were in fine shape and upright.'

The glorious period of India's history was

when Ashoka, one of the world's great emperors presided over her destinies. The concluding verse of the 'Bhagavad-Gita' reads : 'Where Krsna, the Lord of Yoga and Partha with his bow stand together, there prosperity, victory, dignity and justice reign supreme ; have no doubt about it.'

When good men are ready to fight for justice with God as their support, then justice will prevail in society.

—Prabuddha Bharata.

EFFECT OF ULTRAVIOLET RADIATION ON PLANTS

The likelihood of ecological imbalances created by possible depletion of stratospheric ozone layer due to the impact of techno-culture on the steady-state composition of atmosphere is a topic of great environmental concern. The layer of gas that surrounds the surface of the earth has many functions and has a correspondingly large number of important properties. It has different meaning for people of different interests. To quote from a book by McEvans & Phillips entitled—The Chemistry of the Atmosphere—"To a biologist, its most outstanding attribute is the ability to support life from the interaction of sunlight with water, oxygen and carbon dioxide. A less obvious biological function is that of shielding life on the surface from harsh, short wavelength radiation emitted by sun. To a meteorologist the atmosphere is basically a sink for energy and its most interesting characteristic is the ability to transform that energy into wind systems and rainfall averages. To a radiophysicist the most important feature of the atmosphere is the extremely tenuous regions above an altitude of 50 km where the concentration of ions and free electrons is sufficient to justify

the name ionosphere and from which the radio waves are bent back towards the surface of the earth in such a way as to permit long distance radio communication. To a poet the atmosphere is a medium for sunset ; to an astronomer it is a regrettable necessity. To a chemist the atmosphere appears as a continuous large scale photochemical experiment. As an experimental system it is unusual in being agreeably free from wall effects." The atmosphere with all these attributes has provided a suitable environment for life to exist on the earth. But it is in the imminent danger of being disturbed by human activities. A thin layer of ozone, only 2-5 mm thick at normal temperature and one atmosphere pressure shields the life against the harmful ultraviolet radiations from the sun. The band of ultraviolet radiation lying between 280 nm 315 nm has been designated as UV-B region. This region generates strong photochemical activity in biological molecules such as proteins and nucleic acids. Furthermore, this is the region where ozone has appreciable absorption coefficient. Thus any fluctuation in the ozone layer is bound to result in increased influx of UV-B radiation with consequent biological effects.

The United Nations Environmental Programme (UNEP) is interested in initiating researches in this direction. The four basic research activities in the World Plan of Action for Ozone Layer are :

(i) Response to UV-B

Conduct studies on the physiological and structural responses, exemplified by changes in photosynthesis and nitrogen fixation to increased UV-B radiation of selected native and agricultural plants, animal species, and microorganisms and to develop predictors of UV-B sensitivity. These should emphasize dose response, reciprocity, synergisms, antagonisms, action spectra and interactions of

UV-B and other stress factors on these organisms.

(ii) TERRESTRIAL ECOSYSTEMS

Study the effect of changes of UV-B radiation, terrestrial ecosystem (both agricultural and natural) inter alia by means of modelling studies of the impacts of UV-B radiation.

(iii) AQUATIC ECOSYSTEM

Study the effect of changes of UV-B radiation on aquatic plants and animals emphasizing those related to primary productivity in the oceans, develop improved measurements of UV-B penetration into aquatic environment and study its effects on planktons.

(iv) OTHER AGRICULTURAL EFFECTS

Study the effect of changes of UV-B radiation on the stability of agricultural chemicals and the resulting impact on crop yield and agricultural chemical usage pattern.

The Association International de Photobiologie (AIP) is deeply concerned about these problems. The medical research relating to UV-B has been intensified in recent years and several scientific meetings in this area have been held. In 1978, a workshop on "Solar Radiation and the Induction of Skin Cancer" was held on the occasion of the Executive Committee meeting of AIP. The workshop was attended by the nominee of the Indian Photobiology Society also. In the year 1982, the Executive Committee meeting of AIP will be held in India and the symposium to be organised on the occasion will discuss the effect of UV-B radiation in particular on plants. Since very little work has been done on the effect of UV radiation on plant photosynthesis, it will be an exploratory symposium.

In plants, ultraviolet radiation affects, amongst other, cell constituents, the thylakoid

membranes of the chloroplasts. This leads to an inactivation of, above all, photosystem 2 and indirectly the whole process of photosynthesis. The damage inflicted upon a plant by a certain UV-exposure depends on various environmental factors, specially on the exposure to visible light. Visible light may have a photo-reactivating effect on damage to DNA, and the plant's viability to carry out various kinds of repair (eg. repair of thylakoid membrane) is dependent upon photosynthesis. Therefore the effects of both UV-B and visible light have to be assessed. The sensitivity of various kind of plants towards UV-B radiation is different. Higher plants are likely to be more affected. Laboratory experiments have demonstrated that even modest supplements of UV-B radiation can change competitive balance of species in the ecosystem. Because of its location near equator, India is likely to receive more UV-B although studies conducted at National Physical Laboratory, New Delhi suggest that a region of trough exists which may give protection. Nevertheless, it is imperative that research activities be initiated at an early date in this direction in the country. To encourage research activities in this direction, AIP will hold a Workshop in Delhi on Effect of ultraviolet radiation on Plants in November 1982, jointly with the Indian Photobiology society.

—Science & Culture

NEAR HAVRADIM

An Industrial settlement flourishing in ecological harmony with its pastoral surroundings, aspiring to a high quality of life and standard of living and developing a pattern for others. That is, in essence, the idea of Kfar Havradim (literally, Village of Roses),

a planned village of about 10,000 residents committed to the ideology of creative and independent work and a fresh approach to educational and cultural matters. And though it won only minor headlines, it just may turn out to be one of the most important events of the year.

On a spring day in April 1981, the cornerstone for the village was finally laid in the Tefen region of Upper Galilee near the development town of Maalot. It marked the beginning of a dream come true for Stef Wertheimer, the man who proposed this new and innovative form of settlement nearly seven years ago. The aim of the 'founding fathers' is to help settle and develop the Galilee but they will consider the project a success if and when Kfar Havradim pays taxes to the government, asking for no money in return and no subsidies.

SETTLEMENT AND INDUSTRY

Israel's Exports have recently declined by about 15% in real terms, and 34% of its national debt is being paid by the U. S. in one form or another. Kfar Havradim aims to do its bit in improving the country's economic situation by concentrating on setting up factories producing goods for the export market. Companies such as Ishkar, a manufacturer of micro-precision components and Elscint, a world acclaimed producer of scientifically and technologically advanced equipment, both of which are slated to be set up during the Kfar's initial stage of development, have great export potential.

For many years, most of the country's settlements centered around agriculture, but times have changed and planners must adapt to new needs. Kfar Havradim is a vision of future Zionism—the shape of things to come. It heralds an era of settlement based on industry, thus eliminating the old imperatives

of fertile land and available water resources. An industrial village can be erected virtually anywhere. "We want to create a high standard industrial village with a large industrial park containing all the supporting services one can possibly need", says one of the project's innovators. "We hope to include a motel or some sort of facility so that businessmen from all over can spend a few days in the area exchanging ideas and doing business. We want to prove that industry and quality of life are not incompatible by offering good living conditions and a rewarding job within the framework of Kfar Havradim. A departure from the conventional system of bringing people to work, we would bring work to people".

UNAFFILIATED

"It's Very well to speak of doing something to stop people from emigrating and to encourage yordim to return", says one of the village's prospective settlers, "but talk is not enough. We must show that it's possible to lessen the bureaucratic complications which have become an intrinsic part of Israeli life and have unfortunately deterred many interested Israelis and Diaspora Jews from starting an enterprise in Israel. If our project succeeds, we will have a viable proposition to offer these people".

How does one cut down his dependence on public institution? "We have already made quite a breakthrough in this area", boasts Shmuel Ayal, spokesman for the project. "Kfar Havradim is the first independent settlement in so far as it is unaffiliated with any settlement body, political party, Histadrut group or religious faction. As such, we intend to have a highly diversified population which shall have the freedom and scope to determine its own future".

IMPORTANCE

For Kfar Havradim the road has not been strewn with roses. From the start the whole project encountered strong opposition from the nearby struggling development town of Ma'alot, known for the murderous terrorist attack on children in its school. "We will not let the new town go up", said the Mayor of Ma'alot, "so that its residents can become rich on specialized industry and achieve a high standard of living, while we are reduced to being hewers of wood and carriers of water for them". The innovators of the project completely reject this accusation, claiming that Kfar Havradim will strengthen nearby development towns by providing jobs, services and facilities for their residents.

The village sees itself as a new concept of realizing the Zionist vision by nurturing the ties between man his, place of work, place of residence and the quality of his life. As such, it is a venture of importance not only in the settlement of Galilee but also in the whole of Israel's future development and perspectives.

—Israel

WESTERN RELATIONSHIPS

With the introduction of Eastern philosophical traditions to Western culture we have open to us a rich, extremely useful gateway to the exploration of our minds that is based on centuries of accumulated knowledge, knowledge experientially verified by many over the years. Westerners are understandably attracted to these traditions, eager to explore the claims of enlightenment and release from suffering, claims that go a step beyond the Western goals of therapy into the realm of metatherapy (ie. not just copying with psychological suffering, but eradicating it). However these traditions

have evolved over the centuries in cultures that are significantly different than ours in certain ways. Cultural differences do not necessarily call for a different diagnosis of the spiritual condition; in Eastern terms, the fundamental "ignorance" that humanity is deluded by is a common experience to everyone despite cultural background, and the basic path of awakening has some common, universal elements. Still, each culture and generation has its own particular issues to deal with, its own unique layers of conditioning to unravel. Thus, while diagnosis may be the same for each culture, the particular remedy, or aspects of that remedy, needs to be skillfully applied to the particular forms that the disease takes. It will be helpful for Western practitioners to be alert to the unique issues that may arise for us in using the Eastern psychological maps of the spiritual path. I will attempt to explore one of the emerging issues of Western Dharma, that of the unique role of relationships in the spiritual path.

Perhaps one of the main unique characteristics of our present Western culture is the new emphasis placed on freedom in relationships, freedom to explore new meaning to intimacy. In America, the past two decades have evidenced an increasing restlessness with the traditional relationship patterns that have been handed down from generation to generation, and the search for new patterns has placed relationships in the forefront of Western consciousness. In other words, marriage and the rules for family and intimate experience are no longer taken for granted, are no longer "givens". Thus, today we tend to generate much more emotional and mental energy in dealing with the state of our relationships, for the stable structures that once governed them no longer hold such autho-

ritarian sway in our minds. In Eastern cultures, familial ties and marriage mores are "institutionalized"; fixed, 'ancient, strict rules govern romance, marriage and family responsibility. So relationships are, in a way, taken for granted. There is generally not the anxiety over the complex vicissitudes of inter-personal relating that we in the West experience. Extended families are common, and marriages tend to be arranged for economic or social reasons rather than created out of love or attraction. Thus, for the Eastern spiritual practitioner, it appears that relationships would tend to play a less prominent role for them as a catalyst towards 'awakening'. However, the Western trend towards freedom to move in and out of relationships, and to explore what equality, honesty, and intimacy mean for us lead us through a maze of self exploration that is tied up with inter-personal dynamics in an unprecedented way. Thus relationships take on for many of us a significant role (even important catalyst) in our journey of awakening.

Are relationships just another source of attachment to pleasure or aversion to confusion and pain? Or can they be seen as potentially powerful object of mindfulness can they perhaps serve as a skillful means of opening us, of penetrating through our self delusion? I believe that the latter is showing itself to be true. We are finding that the healthiest form of dyadic relationship is one whose guidelines incorporate the truths of *anicca* (impermanence), *dukkha* (unsatisfactoriness), and *anatta* (insubstantiality of self). The truth of *anicca* is everything in the universe is

impermanent, is in constant flux, is ever fluid and shifting, though we in our craving seek permanence and stasis. This desire for stasis always leads to suffering because we look for something that is not there. The truth of *dukkha* is that everything in the universe is experienced (whether obviously or subtly, immediately or in the long run) as unsatisfactory because of our craving; for some reason we fail to perceive things in their suchness, are unable to experiencing, leading us to experience things differently than they really are, wanting things (be it persons, material objects, states of mind, etc.) to stay when they are leaving, wanting things that one doesn't have, not wanting things to be as they are, and so on. This fundamental distortion of phenomena leads to much suffering on our part. The truth of *anatta* is that we are not the stable, solid, unchanging entity that we often like to think we are.

In essence, as we become mindful in our relationships, we can gain insight into *anicca/dukkha/anatta*: our relationships are transformed into skillful, powerful means of practice because they are such a unique and integral part of our lives; they also gain a clarity and spaciousness in themselves. Our relationships mirror ourselves to ourselves. We learn how we see things as We really are, not as they really are in themselves. We learn to let go of our neurotic desire for permanence and solidity in the elements of our relationships. Through this we can learn to unravel our distorted perceptions and become free.

—The Maha Bodhi

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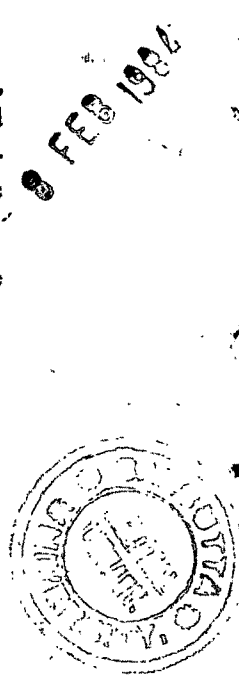
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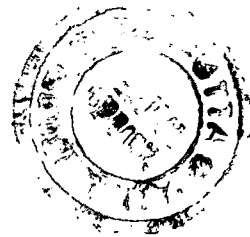
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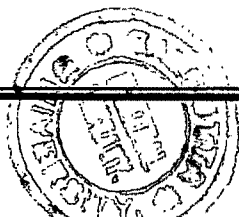
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NOTES

THE CENTRAL BUDGET FOR 1982-83

The Central Budget for 1982-83 appears to have disappointed all the major groups in our economy, whether it be the industrialists who expected greater reduction in excise duties as well as in personal and corporate income taxes, or those who had looked forward, to major changes in the governments economic policy. In fact the most striking feature about the Budget is perhaps the apparant lack of connection between the Budget and the Economic Survey for the preceding year, although the objectives spelled out in the final chapter of the Survey and those stated in the Introduction to the Budget Speech appear to coincide.

Several of these objectives therefore need to be emphasized under the circum-

stances, specially when assessing the pcten-tialities of the Budget. To begin with is the aim to keep the deficit within reasonable limits. This has been mentioned and the estimates stated. Secondly, special incen-ives for increasing production have also been emphasized, and Thirdly the government has declared its intention of implementing measures which will satisfy the needs of the low income groups.

Regarding the first of these objectives, viz keeping the deficits within reasonable limits, it is felt by various groups in our economy that although the deficit estimated at Rs. 1365 Crores (following adjustment for Rs 470 crores of the Central Share of the new taxes as well as the sum o Rs. 250 Crores to be raised from the proposed Capital investment bonds), is perhaps not

very high, but in their opinion this is high enough to produce and aggravate Inflation. Inflation may increase further if it is argued, as is often the case, the year-end deficit may turn out to be much larger than was estimated in the Budget.

The Second objective i.e. of increasing industrial production unfortunately depends more on factors other than fiscal incentives in our Country. One may mention here eg. the Supply of Power, and the revival of internal or external demand in this connection. Therefore the proposed rebate in excise duty, relief in income tax on export performance or on profits from Constructions abroad, may not be enough incentive here.

The last, and in a sense one of the major aims of the Budget, is to raise the real income, the standard of living and Consumption of the low income groups so as to reduce inequality. This is to be attempted through various measures such as giving relief in direct taxation to income-tax payers in the slabs below Rs 30,000 per annum, and to salaried persons whose tax-free limit will be raised to Rs 33,000 p.a together with various other fiscal relief. Higher rates of taxation are to be imposed on slabs of income of Rs. 60,000.00 upwards.

At a glance it appears that the relief provided in the Budget may benefit those in the middle-income group predominantly, and they may increase contributions to insurance, provident funds, Unit Trusts, bank deposits etc because of the increase in the tax-free limits for interest or dividend incomes from all these sources, apart from the relief in personal income taxes. However this will not benefit the real low-income level a unfortunately only about 3 million people pay income tax in India out of more

than 300 million "earners". Thus except in certain relief given through indirect taxes it is difficult to judge in what manner the major portion of the population will be benefitted. In fact, should inflation be induced any further, the real-income and consumption of the low-income level will be further restricted while the effect of the increased Savings of the middle income group will be negligible.

Finally, of the many obvious lacunae in the Budget perhaps the most important one is that there appears to be little or no mention of the urgent measures needed to reverse the balance-of-payments deficits. These were expected in view of the recent massive loan agreement entered into with the I. M. F by the Government—

TRAFFIC IN WOMEN AND CHILDREN.

In spite of legislations at both National and International levels, the traffic in women and children continues throughout the world. The fight against commercialised vice by voluntary and Governmental Institutions in recent years is undoubtedly a record of human endeavour to oppose an evil which strikes at the very root of human dignity. But unfortunately the traffic shows little or no signs of decreasing; on the contrary evidence available indicates that more drastic measures will have to be taken if commercialised vice and exploitation of women and children are to be suppressed, at both national and international levels.

Various studies of this traffic in our country show up certain factors, foremost

among which are enticement, abduction and sale of these victims by groups of unscrupulous people who exploit either the ignorance or economic stringency of these unfortunate women and children. Case studies reveal great similarity of history. Almost certainly the victims are from socially deprived backgrounds, economically forced or enticed by the traffickers into the trade. Child widows or young widows left without any means of support, abandoned wives, teenage girls lost in railway stations, pilgrimages, or melas, young village girls in search of work in the cities, are all targets of the traffickers.

As elsewhere, the large cities in India like Calcutta and Bombay, with their Ports and industries are centres of immigrant labour, most of whom are without families. These cities thus prove to be fertile breeding grounds for brothels and traffickers. Over the Centuries Society has accepted this heinous traffic as a social necessity and specific areas are earmarked by the traffickers as centres of their trade. For various reasons there have been attempts to legislate about Prostitution but in the 18th and early 19th centuries when the country was under British rule, like the rest of the world, these laws only emphasized measures necessary for enforcing rules related to the prevention and control of Contagious diseases. There was at that time no conception of or endeavour to Control the traffic in human beings throughout the world as the trade was accepted to be part of any Society, although everywhere the people concerned were ostracized. Matters improved in the latter half of the 19th Century when Josephine Butler, a courageous English woman formed the British Continental and General Federation for the Abolition of Regulation of Prostitution. The eminent Indian Social

reformer, Keshab Chandra Sen also attended this Abolitionist Conference of 1876 when he sought assistance and support from Josephine Butler in challenging the regular system of procuration of Indian and Japanese women by the Government of India for British troops stationed in India, and of their being subjected to medical examination and segregation.

Much investigation has been made in recent times to ascertain the Causes which lead to the continuation of this trade in India. Perhaps the following excerpt from an article by Dr. Phulrenu Guha entitled "Control of Immoral Traffic" published in 1954 sums them up precisely : "The age group of prostitution in India is 10 to 29 years. The main causes leading to prostitution are :—

1. Economic distress—55.4 o/o.
2. Domestic troubles, desertion and widow hood—27.7%.
3. Social and religious Practices—16.9%.

(SOURCE—CENTRAL SOCIAL WELFARE BOARD)

A glance at the various legislations enacted in this connection in Bengal illustrates the reasons for their inefficacy in dealing with this problem. The earliest relevant legislation in this connection was the Calcutta Police Act of 1866 (Ben Act IV of 1866 : Sec 43, 43A, 43B), which gave the Commissioner of Police, Calcutta, the power to order the discontinuance of the use of any house, room or place of assignation, to provide for the penalty for breach of order, and to empower the officer

or leaser to terminate the lease or tenancy of undesirable tenants. However the Act did not provide for the rescue of victims from traffickers, nor did it have any measures for their after care in safe custody or rehabilitation.

Madras, Bombay and Bengal enacted further measures relevant to this problem in the nineteen hundred twenties when Bombay passed the *Prevention of Prostitution Act* in 1923, while in Calcutta two acts were passed also about the same time. These were the *Calcutta Suppression of Immoral Traffic Bill* 1923, and the *Bengal Children Act* of 1922. The main objective of this Bill was the gradual suppression of brothels and consequently the traffic in women and children, as under this Bill the police were empowered to rescue minor girls and produce them before the Juvenile Court for orders to place them in suitable safe custody. These Cases were to be tried under the *Bengal Children act* of 1922.

However these turned out be halfmeasures also since the Act only applied to Calcutta and omitted to make any provision for Homes for these rescued minor girls. Perhaps one can mention the *Bengal Suppression of Immoral Traffic act* 1933 (Act VI of 1933) as the most workable of all these legislations. This aimed at amending all the shortcomings of the various acts which have been mentioned up to now. Unfortunately this Act was restricted to parts of Bengal only, and required actual evidence of traffickers trading gainfully on the earnings of those forced into prostitution. There was obviously need for an all India Act and the Government of India passed *The Suppression of Immoral Traffic in Women and Girls Act* 1956 (104 of 1956) which extended

to the whole of India and amended the then existing provincial legislations. This Act has since been amended periodically in 1963, 1978 and again in 1980, and a brief review of its main provisions is essential in order to analyse the Lacunae.

The 1956 act provides for many shortcomings of the previous legislations, the most important of which are :—

- i) Suitable custody of girls removed from brothels ;
- ii) Raised the age of girls who could be rescued from 16 to 21.
- iii) Provided that their Cases could be tried before a magistrate's court ;
- iv) Provided that the magistrate could order that they could be kept in a protective home also ;
- v) Any woman who was in the trade could apply to a magistrate for order to be kept in suitable custody.

Various sections allowed special police officers to search any premises he suspected of trafficking without a warrant, to remove any girl who was being forced into the trade, and allowed the state Governments to establish as many protective homes under this Act as they thought fit.

Unfortunately the Act of 1956 was not a workable one because of certain specifications, eg the necessity of the special police officer having the rank of "Assistant Commissioner" at least, and also that a respectable woman was required to attend and witness the search. But the 1980 amendments made it more realistic. Section 13² specified that the special police officer shall not be below the role of an "Inspector" (amended from

"Assistant Commissioner"), and although the stipulation of a woman being one of the respectable inhabitants to be called upon by the police officer remains, she will now not be required to "attend and witness" the search. Of great importance are further sections which specify that a woman may apply to the relevant magistrate to be kept in a protective home. No woman or girl shall be detained in custody for more than 10 days from the date of the order and a magistrate, after hearing of the case, may direct a probation officer to enquire fully into the case.

In spite of all these efforts, the traffic in women and children persists. In 1921 when the first International Convention of Suppression of Immoral Traffic in Women and Children was framed India was a signatory to this. Again the 1930 report of the Government of India specified that the policy in India towards prostitution and immoral traffic was one of total abolition. The 1956 act enforces "Suppression not 'abolition' of this traffic. But obviously the root causes have still to be tackled. Judging by the general causes which lead women into this trade it is necessary to take action from other angles, the most important of which may be that more employment must be given to women from low-income groups, they must be given vocational training as part of their basic education from village level, and shelters should be provided for them in villages, railway stations, places of pilgrimages and melas. It is equally necessary for social workers from voluntary organisations, Gram Sevikas, Bal Sevikas, village school teachers, doctors at village, town and city hospitals and health centres among others to organise meetings where social and moral hygiene problems may be discussed and girls and women substantially

warned about the evils of this trade. For it is obvious that with the best intentions in the world no Government can eradicate a social evil of this nature through legislation alone. Society must rouse its Conscience about this problem and take up the challenge.

TRADE TRENDS IN AFGHANISTAN.

An interesting result of the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan has been the evolution of a new pattern of trade apparent in that country after two years of the USSR's entry into that country. The historic import-export relations that existed between Afghanistan and the West show a marked decline and in its place we find new relations evolving with the Soviet Union and the countries of the Socialist bloc.

Generally speaking, a perusal of statistics provided by the Afghan Government for these two years (i.e. March 1978 to March 1981), a period which covers a year prior to the intervention as well as the one covering a year following Soviet intervention, show an increase in overall turnover with enhanced export earnings. But these figures also indicate that both increases in exports as well as imports have been from the Socialist bloc while there appears to be approximately the same quantum of decline in trade with the West. Thus for example while exports to Great Britain and West Germany have increased considerably, there is a perceptible decline in trade with the United States and Japan, although imports from the USA show an increase of approximately 58%. As is to be expected both exports and imports from the Soviet Union have increased, and the USSR has now become Afghanistan's foremost trade partner while to a lesser extent

the same appears to be true of Poland and Czechoslovakia.

Usually it is expected that trade relations between Afghanistan and India, Pakistan, Iran, would reflect a similar trend, i.e. trade would decline with the countries not politically sympathetic to the new regime in Afghanistan and show an upward curve with those who support the new Government. Surprisingly, the converse seems to be the case. For while Afghan exports to Pakistan have increased and imports decreased marginally, imports from India have declined considerably. Thus it appears that India's support for the new regime has not resulted in a favourable trade balance while in spite of Pakistan's activities against the new regime its trade with Afghanistan has not suffered. In the case of Iran, however, trade relations have declined as both imports and exports are down during this period. This is, as was expected, since political relations between the two countries are not cordial.

In spite of all these radical changes in the trade trends in Afghanistan to all appearances the volume of trade has increased. It would be interesting to review whether there has been any increase in the actual earned foreign exchange income in Afghanistan. Since much of the trade with the USSR is in terms of barter, the considerable surplus in foreign exchange earned by Afghanistan will be adjusted against imports from Russia in the future. Thus Afghanistan is committed to greater trade involvement with the USSR and cannot expand trade ties with other states even if it should so desire. And with increasing amounts of foreign exchange earnings being blocked as part of the barter system of trade with Russia, Afghanistan may be able to retain her export trade with the West but import of goods from these countries will steadily decline and the Afghan markets will most likely be lost to the non-socialist states of the West.



CANADA AND ASIAN COMMONWEALTH NATIONS

Dr. BUDDHADASA P. KIRITHISINGHE

The Canadian Prime Minister, Pierre Elliot Trudeau, as Chairman of the recent Ottawa Heads of Industrial Nations Conference, stated :

"We have met at a time of rapid change and great challenge to world economic progress and peace. Our meeting has served to reinforce the strength of our common bonds. We are conscious that economic issues reflect and affect the broader political purposes we share. In a world of interdependence, we reaffirm our common objectives and our recognition of the need to take into account the effect on others of policies we pursue. We are confident in our joint determination and ability to tackle our problems in a spirit of shared responsibility, both among ourselves and with our partners throughout the world".

No wonder, when Premier Trudeau declared at the Cancun (Mexico) Conference his intention to give a one billion dollars pledge to help the poor nations of the world, this was no surprise to the United Nations. He deliberately timed it to encourage other western leaders to follow his example ; while President Reagan of the U. S. A. went there with reluctance, and refused to make any such pledge.

This raises Canada and in reality reflects the ordinary Canadian's attitude of compassion and benevolence to all humanity, whether

white, black or brown, and is devoid of any intention of dominating them or the world.

This friendly attitude displayed both by Premier Trudeau and his able Foreign Minister, Dr. Mark MacGurgan, shows that they are following in the footsteps of a long list of illustrious predecessors—St. Laurent, Dr. Lester Pearson, and even the Conservative Prime Minister, John Diefenbaker ; Canada never had the experience of any imperialistic past. These Canadian statesmen are held in the highest esteem by the Commonwealth leaders and by the peoples of India, Sri Lanka, Bangladesh, Malaysia, and Singapore in particular.

As stated before, Canadians as a whole are a very liberal-minded race, and selflessly generous towards economically backward nations of Asia, acknowledging that economic betterment of the South-East Asian nations is the best insurance against Communist inroads into them. As a tribute to all previous and present Governments of Canada, it is a worthy objective to study the considerable interest Canada has displayed since the inception of the Colombo Economic Plan for the economic progress of the Commonwealth of Nations in the Indian-Subcontinent, India, Bangladesh, Pakistan, and Sri Lanka. Canada has liberally lent a helpful hand to assist them to usher in a new period of prosperity, the re

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man may be made to live a happy and a more purposeful life.

Co-operating through the Colombo Plan, Canada has given vast financial and technical assistance not only to the three Asian Commonwealth nations, but also to other South-East Asian countries such as Burma, Indonesia, Malaya, Laos, and Cambodia. From 1945-1956, Canada had assisted the Asian lands, principally India, Pakistan, and Sri Lanka, through the Colombo Plan, to a sum of \$162.3 million, thus making seventy-five percent of all assistance made by all the Commonwealth of Nations put together. Therefore, Canada had provided the lion's share for the economic plans of the South and South-East Asian lands, of course, excluding the U. S. A., who has been the largest provider of economic and technical aid to these under-developed lands.

Two of the most important contributions by Canada, under the Colombo Plan, were made to India. One was the help rendered to complete the Mayurakshi Dam plan, and, satisfied with the merits of this Mayurakshi scheme, undertook to lend the money needed to complete it. This aid was given through a wheat allocation of \$10,000,000 during the severe famine conditions which existed in India in 1950. It was also recognized that the Colombo Plan was not a relief organization. Therefore, it was agreed that India would set up a counterpart fund in rupees (Indian currency) which was used in the Mayurakshi Dam project. India honoured Canada by naming it Canada Dam, and when Rt. Hon. Lester Pearson opened this dam on November 1, 1955, he said, "Our peoples (Canadians and Indians) have shared the cost of the dam, and among friends when the welfare of some is furthered by help from the others, we also share the benefit. It is as

simple and as fundamental as that, as simple as neighbourly help and fundamental as friendship". These words of Mr. Pearson exemplify Canadian-Indian co-operation, and according to Premier Nehru, the dam will be a visible and enduring link of friendship between Canada and India.

Canada and India have signed an agreement and have set up a high-power atomic reactor in India under the Colombo Plan. The agreement was signed in New Delhi on April 28, 1956 by Prime Minister Nehru and the Canadian High Commissioner for India, Mr. Escott. The reactor is located near Bombay and provides facilities for fundamental research in physical, chemical, biological and metallurgical problems relating to atomic energy. It is also producing radioactive isotopes for use in medical therapy, agriculture and industry. The cost was shared by Canada and India. This is a bond of not mere Indo-Canadian friendship, but rather a greater symbol of Canadian-Asian co-operation, as India has promised to make facilities available for scientific training to the South and South-East Asian nationals.

Canada sent a research-type of reactor, in fact an exact copy of the research reactor Canada uses at Chalk River (Canada). As Mr. Nehru has pointed out, atomic power is going to be of utmost value to the under-developed nations of the South and South-East Asia. Some are short of hydro-electric sites and others are short of coal and oil; obviously, under such conditions, atomic power will be invaluable to these Asians. Therefore, Canada had played a vital and noble role in the future development of these South-East Asian nations.

Besides, there are other important projects going on in India and Pakistan by

Canada's co-operation under the Colombo Plan. Cement plants, aerial resources surveys and Warsak irrigation projects have been established in Pakistan. The most important Canadian-aided project in Pakistan is the cement plant built in North-West Punjab, where Pakistan hopes to settle roughly 7,000,000 refugees, resulting from the partition of British India. This plant was virtually completed in 1954 and was named Maple Leaf Cement Factory, honouring Canada. The plant is expected to produce 100,000 tons of cement a year and the Canadian allotment of \$5,000,000 was utilized to supply the cement-making machinery, and Pakistan, with its own finances, completed the building to house the plant. In 1980 Canada gave India \$59 million to build the Iduppi Dam.

India, with about 30 percent of the Third World's population, has a per capita GNP of approximately US \$160 (compared to Canada's US \$8,350 in 1977). At least 200 million of its 630 million people live below the minimum caloric consumption level needed for normal activity. Despite the country's vast needs, the net aid received from all sources amounts to less than one cent per day per person.

Canadian other bilateral assistance to India in 1978-79 was about \$32 million, with most projects (such as fertilizer shipments, dairy development, and research in drylands farming) being in the agricultural sector. In addition, 39 Canadian non-governmental organizations (NGOs) were engaged in 109 projects with a total value of almost \$30 million, assisted by \$4.7 million in matching contributions from CIDA's NGO Division. These projects cover a wide range of development problems, with a strong emphasis on rural development and health. In 1981 India

received another \$15 million gas and oil credit from Canada.

Canada has assisted the Sri Lanka government to provide more protein in the diet of its people, as suggested by the World Health Organization. Here she has given fishing trawlers, research equipment and personnel. She has furnished a fish refrigeration and reduction plant outside Colombo for turning fish offal into cattle meal and fertilizer, and also for the extraction of cod liver and other fish oils. A Canadian co-operative expert has helped Sri Lanka to establish a fish-marketing co-operative with great success. Canada has donated an agricultural laboratory to the Ceylon University and is also helping in the Galoya Agricultural Development Scheme under the Colombo Plan. These are some of the more important projects, but there are many others being built, aided by Canada, in India, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, which cannot be enumerated here due to lack of space.

In Sri Lanka's interior dryland area, the immense Mahaweli rural development project will boost rice production by bringing 900,000 acres under irrigation. One of the world's biggest development schemes, Mahaweli combines many positive elements—social development, a major effort to use water better, food production, the drive for national self-reliance, an egalitarian spread of benefits among rural people. Canada is among the countries and international agencies co-operating with Sri Lanka in this important effort to enrich the agricultural sector.

Canada's assistance to Malaysia and Singapore began in 1954 under the Colombo Plan, and amounted to over \$30,000 by 1981.

One of the fundamental difficulties enco-

interested by Canada in this co-operation—where such a technically-advanced country as Canada has to co-operate with nations still nearly 80 percent agricultural—is that they are short of technicians, engineers, and sadly-lacked skilled labour. At Warsak Project in Pakistan, the Canadian personnel could not find enough technicians to co-operate with them.

In Galoya Scheme in Sri Lanka, in either erecting-thermal plants or electrification schemes, Canadian engineers were confronted with the same situation.

Canada, too, is handicapped in at least one respect. There is a boom situation in Canada which mitigates against the numbers of Canadians who are willing to go out to Asia. It is not easy, in the first place, to find these highly-trained men in Canada; if they are good, they have highly-paid jobs. In such a situation, the Canadian Government would find it difficult to persuade them to leave their jobs, to face sometimes bad climates and to live in Asia with a lower standard of living than they are accustomed to in Canada. In spite of these formidable difficulties, Canadian technicians, scientists, and engineers are going to Asia in increasing numbers.

There are also the difficulties of finding fields wherein Canada can help these Asian nations. Although there are Canadian High Commissions to India, Pakistan, and Sri Lanka, they are not qualified to handle such technical jobs in the fields of economic planning and development. A technical mission that came to Asia recently was composed of Dr. C. E. Monture, Chief of the Mineral Resources Division in Ottawa, and Dr. A. E. Cameron, President of the Nova Scotia Technical College, Halifax. They toured some of the South Asian countries together, and at

times individually, and on their return appeared before the Canadian Policy Committee of the Technical Co-operation Division, and their recommendations have been found to be very valuable, both to Canada and these Asian nations. The Asian nations always welcomed such technical missions and often sought their advice when visiting their respective countries, on development schemes, both on hand or in the blueprint stage.

In these co-operative missions between Canada and Asia, there is also a sort of cultural exchange. The Canadian officers who go to Asia, and the young Asians who are sent to Canada for technical training in ever increasing numbers, fulfil another great function, i.e. as goodwill and cultural ambassadors between these countries of the East and West. These men and women are exposed to each other's way of life and thinking, which will eventually tend to build a lasting goodwill and friendship between these nations. By this technical training progress, Canada is adding, slowly but steadily, to the technical, agricultural and medical skills and other knowledge which these Asian nations need for their economic advancement.

In the immigration policy, too, Canada has displayed greater statesmanship to these three Asian nations than any other Commonwealth nations, except the United Kingdom. Canada, annually, allows 500 Indians, 500 Pakistanis, and 300 Sri Lankans to settle in Canada as first-class citizens. This is an eye-opener to the other non-Asian Commonwealth nations, whose policies of racial intolerance are well known the world over. It is true that this is just a token, but one has to recognize Canada's inalienable right to decide the composition of the citizenry. Yet, by this token, Canada tries to reconcile

petty prejudices which exist in the world and proudly tries to recognize human dignity above such pettiness that divides mankind.

India and Sri Lanka have effectively demonstrated the value of economic measures in combatting the spread of poverty in Asia. Therefore, Canada's contributions and efforts for the economic betterment of these Asian peoples, ensure the admiration and gratitude of the leaders and the educated sections of these countries. Now, with mass education in India, Pakistan and Sri Lanka, Canada's efforts to help them will be appreciated by more and more millions of these struggling masses to ensure a lasting friendship between them. To quote Premier Nehru who said, "The close co-operation between scientists

and engineers of the two countries, although geographically so far removed as Canada and India (Pakistan and Sri Lanka), was a symbol of the manner in which the world had shrunk because of modern technology. It is also a token of peace, understanding and co-operation which one day may spread throughout the world".

The Commonwealth lands, under the Colombo Plan, are proud of Canada's magnanimity to help them. India has become the 9th industrial power in the world, Sri Lanka is one of the most literate countries in the world with 90 percent literacy rate, and Little Singapore has become a big industrial nation in Asia.

AN EVALUATION OF PRIVATE BUS SERVICE ORGANISATION

Dr. P. S. SAXENA, AND S. C. GUPTA

Though bus services in the country started solely in the private sector, like all other industries, they were subsequently provided in the public as well as the cooperative sectors. Having been started in early years of the present century, as the first motor vehicle

appeared on Indian roads in 1898,¹ these services could not be organised in the public sector till 1947, though some of the old Indian States had started bus services, e. g. Madhya Bharat in 1916, Hyderabad in 1932, Travankor Cochin in 1938, and Kachcha in

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1942. The nationalisation of bus transport in India started in May 1947, when the Government of U.P. started their bus services. Other States followed U. P. and bus services were nationalised in 1947 in Madras ; in 1948 in Assam, Bihar, Bombay, Orissa, Punjab, West Bengal, Mysore, Delhi and Saurashtra, in 1949 in Himachal Pradesh and in 1960 in Rajasthan.

Though, a few States like Gujarat, Maharashtra, Punjab, Haryana and Rajasthan have nationalised their bus services in full, private sector bus transport still continues to operate in other States to some extent, and about 40 per cent 2 of the total bus routes in the country are still in the private sector. Road Transport Cooperative Societies are the third form which provide bus services, but it is not at all significant, as such societies are confined to goods services. Therefore, the question arises as to the expansion of which of the two existing forms of ownership of bus transport viz., the nationalised or the private bus transport would be in the best interest of the country by providing most efficient, economical and comfortable bus service to passengers.

The Operational cost of a bus transport organisation is the primary factor to be analysed before commenting upon any one of these two forms. The Cost of operation of nationalised bus organisations in the country is comparatively higher than that of the operational cost of private sector bus organisations because of the latter being unorganised and scattered on the one hand and comprising of single bus owners on the other. In the State of U. P., in 1980-81, the cost of operation of the U. P. State Road Transport Corporation was 302 p. per bus per K. M.3 as against only 271 p. per bus K.M.4 in case of single bus private operators. Thus the private bus organisations provide bus services at much

cheaper rate because their cost of personnel is very low, as the bus staff ratio in the private sector is only 3 as against above 9 in the nationalised sector. Purchases made by the owner himself are always economical. This fact also lowers the cost of materials and overhead cost of private bus operators. Besides, depreciation is also less to the single bus operators, as they have no other asset to depreciate except the bus. Contrary to this a nationalised bus organisation has to appoint a large supervisory, administrative and mechanical staff and has to acquire assets like buildings for bus stations, work shops and garages ; furniture, other vehicles etc. to depreciate. But on the basis of lesser operational cost, it cannot be maintained that mostly single bus owners provide efficient, economical and comfortable bus services to passengers in the country. There are a number of defects and shortcomings in their services viz :

Firstly, the journey in these buses is not at all reliable as these private operators do not have proper arrangements for repairs and upkeep of their buses. They have to depend upon private workshops which are not only costly but also very time consuming.

Secondly, these operators ply their buses on routes with the object of increasing their income without checking the mechanical fitness of their buses. Consequently mechanical failure which makes the journey very uncertain, is very common to them.

Thirdly, overloading is a familiar feature of these private services. The cases detected by the Transport Department of the State and Police reveal that more than 60 per cent 5 of the challans made under the Motor Vehicles Act, 1939 and the State Motor Vehicles Rules are in respect of overloading.

Fourthly, these operators do not observe punctuality at all. They start their journey only when their buses are fully loaded. If compelled by the Unions to start on time, they leave the bus station but wait at nearby crossings to get their buses fully loaded.

Another factor for the delay in their services is the frequent stoppage. The Study Group on Viable Units observed: "One third of the time which the single vehicle operators take in reaching from one destination to another is spent in taking up and putting down the passengers."⁶

Fifthly, these private operators also face difficulty for parking place and bus stations. The Gadgil Committee observed in Bombay that the parking place of the private operator, is before his house and the bus station is the place where he finds passengers. The committee also observed that these operators do not care to go to the bus stations, because they capture more traffic on the way.

Sixthly, their services are also very uncertain as they have no buses in spare. Therefore, their regular trips are cancelled, if they have to provide some special services for melas etc. or if their buses are in workshops for repairs.

Seventhly, if these operators do not find enough passengers they cancel even their scheduled trips and the other passengers are put into trouble.

Lastly, the operators are put into trouble when their buses become obsolete and unserviceable, as they do not observe a proper system of depreciation on their buses.

Thus, the advantage of economy in the cost of operation of private buses over the state owned buses resulting in a somewhat lower rate of fares is far outweighed because

economy at the cost of efficiency and comfort is no economy at all. For the sake of criticism it can easily be said that there should be total nationalisation of bus services in the State, but this is beyond the financial capacity of the State Governments. The U.P. State Road Transport Corporation runs only 55.4 per cent of the total number of buses in the State,⁷ while the rest are being run by the private operators, among whom a vast majority are the single bus operators. The very fact that the nationalised bus services only cover 19.88 per cent of the roads in the State, makes it inevitable that the private sector bus transport in the State should be encouraged so as to cope with the ever-increasing demand of passenger traffic. The clear cut insolvency of the UPSRTC came out in 1977, when it started to take private buses on hire to ply on nationalised routes. The number of such private buses with the Corporation has gone up from 121 in 1977-78 to 371 in 1978-79, 787 in 1979-80, 805 in December, 1980, and above 1100 in 1981-82. Thus, even after 35 years of nationalisation public sector bus services are not in a commanding position and still in the decades to come private sector bus transport has to play a vital role. Therefore, it is suggested that these private operators should be merged into voluntary pools so that they may have the advantages of large scale operation. If these operators are organised into viable units, their services will become more comfortable and efficient.

Having come to the conclusion that private bus services will continue in the years to come we may suggest that in order to justify their existence for a longer period they may reform themselves. Such reforms may be in the following form :

1. Single vehicle operators should form small associations and pool their income and expenses,

2. They should organise common garages and workshops in order to have expert and quick repairs and general upkeep of their fleet.

3. They should frame a 'code of conduct' for their services and strictly follow it; and

4. Their association should take a share of their profits to supervise and look after the services of its members and check the violation of Motor Vehicles Act and Rules.

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SUCCESSFUL EXTENSION STRATEGIES FOR MAIZE PRODUCTION

P. VENKATARAMAIAH

Maize is an important cereal crop. It occupies the third place in the World grain production next to wheat and Rice. In India it occupies the 5th place in areas and the 4th place in input among cereals. It constitutes 85% of the total production in the country. Among the Southern States, Karnataka leads the others and in productivity it stands first in the country. The average yield of 3.5 tonnes is not only the highest but is three times the average yield in the country.

The above figures are self explanatory and speak of the high potentialities of the Maize crop in the country. Then, how do you design a successful extension strategy for maize production in the local setting?

Successful extension strategies for maize production depends upon the objectives of the programme, It may have to work within a small group or a large group, in some cases even to work with particular individuals. In recent years one may rightly account for one group action oriented programmes. The following extension strategies implemented both in Karnataka and other parts of the country, as well as a few from other countries may provide some ideas in designing successful extension strategies in the local setting.

ELA OR INTENSIVE UNIT APPROACH IN KERALA

This is being tried for the last four years in Kerala to increase the average yield of paddy per acre. The main emphasis here happens to be on a Junior Agricultural Officer who is a Graduate in Agriculture and who will be incharge of 1000 acres unit of paddy area. He is assisted by two Field Assistants. The Gramsevakas of the normal block agencies are bypassed and the Junior Agricultural Officer is assisted for streamlining the supply etc., by a local committee. However, it is the responsibility of this Graduate to work intensively with the farmers to increase the average yields and this approach has paid rich dividends.

PRE AND INSEASON CAMPAIGN STRATEGY OF TAMIL NADU

This strategy is also on paddy crop being conducted in Tamil Nadu in Tanjore and neighbouring Districts. The potential villages where the adoption of key practices are low are selected well in advance of the season for inclusion in the campaign. The officers of the Department of Agriculture starting from A. E. O. and upwards available in the area are pooled and a schedule of visit in specific villages before the season starts is worked out.

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The message to be conveyed in the village through a group meeting, including the use of teaching aid, contents of the lecture presentation is finalised and the officers are informed about this. During the group meetings programmes in the villages, the clientele for the educational programme during the season gets fixed on a voluntary basis. An intensive approach with these farmers during the season by the extension workers has helped in the higher adoption of these practices.

FARM CLINIC PROJECT APPROACH KARNATAKA

This is an approach which is in operation in Barakar Panchayat area of Brahmavar Taluka of South Kanara District. The syndicate Agricultural Foundation has initiated this Project and is operating since last three years. Encouraging signs are being observed.

The major approach in this project is concentrated to work with a selection of groups of marginal farmers. The supplies and services including the credit is very closely linked and is available at the same place. Agricultural Production programme with individual marginal farmers are completely based on their needs and interests. The local level workers are assigned with 55 farmers to work with. It is also interesting to observe that other farmers of the Panchayat are catered with programmes from Farm Clinic Office. In this case also the role of Gramsevakas is bypassed.

PUEBLA PROJECT APPROACH IN MEXICO

This is conducted in a region known as Puebla Valley in Mexico. The main objective was to increase per acre corn yields. The bottleneck was the slow process of adoption of recommended practices. For Linkage of this

system with input supply an extension agency educational programme was initiated. The development of the local technology for adoption was emphasized rather than improved technology. It was also interesting to observe that 16 sets of package of practices for corn production for the benefit of farmers depending upon soil type, slope, economics etc., was worked out. The project started with 103 farmers in 76 hectares in early 1968-69. And within five years, 8159 farmers cultivated in an area of 26,556 hectares. The remarkable achievement was the increase in per acre yield of corn from 1,330 kg. per ha. to 2,496 kg. during this period.

TRAINING AND VISIT APPROACH- INDIA

This is a strategy that is also being implemented in Rajasthan and Madhya Pradesh. The strategy here emphasizes specific clientele system for the extension worker to work with a specific technology for a specific period of time with the active support of a team of Subject Matter Specialists. The idea was to train the village level worker to handle simple and small farmers only on these technologies. A guidelines were also given to him on how to work with some clientele of 40 farmers in village. This has been acclaimed as a very successful extension programme execution approach.

BLOCK DEMONSTRATION APPROACH- KARNATAKA

The only important point that needs emphasis here is that the group of farmers involved in the demonstration need to maintain their group achievements to take further agricultural extension programme in their village and influence other farmers.

PILOT PROJCT ON LARGE SCALE ADOPTION OF TECHNOLOGIES—KARNATAKA AND MAHARASHTRA

This is also a familiar approach as the Karnataka State Department of Agriculture has intimated this approach in 4 centres during the past years. The linkage of providing on the spot credit and inputs is a strong point of the programme. And this should be matched with educational efforts to include the farmers inefficient management of cash and non cash inputs.

PROBLEM SOLVING APPROACH JOAN TULLEY IN AUSTRALIA

This is a project sucessfully tried by an eminent social scientist Joan Tulley in Australia. Here she has designed the project in such a way that the small group of farmers identifying a particular relevent problem of their own, thereby gets motivated for urgent follow up action which was facilitated by the extension agency. In other words, this is a technique of pre-conditioning of the farmer for action. This can be attempted on a small group of farmers.

WHOLE FARM DEMONSTRATION-CLUSTERS APPROACH-KARNATAKA

Whole farm demonstration is essentially an individual approach, where on the farm of a single farmer several crop enterprises are demonstrated over a period of time. In a recent extension programme execution in a North Kanara District village known as Bhairumbe, a group of 15 farmers drawn from the cross section of the village have been enrolled as whole farm demonstrators and hence a cluster of these whole farm demonstrators has appeared. The project has been implemented by the UAS through the co-operative society in the village and has already created a good impact on the participants

and the neighbours. It is interesting to observe that the society has appointed an agricultural assistant to help the farmers. It is also interesting to observe that the credit for different operations on the farm at required scale was released monthwise for specific operation.

EXTESION PROJECT AT SENEGAL

This is an important feature of an intensive work in an area for a special and an important rainfed crop in Senegal country. The project was designed to increase the per acre yield of rainfed crop among the two categories of farmers, i.e., heavy programme for large farms over ten hectares, and a light programme directed towards the rest of the farming population. The major emphasis was on input management aspect (input supply was linked with an independent organisation located in the area.) Another important feature of the organization was that for a temporary period (2 years), 700 extension workers were recruited from younger growers in the villages who had some formal education. Initially they were part time workers and part time farmers. The first two years of the programme was a roaring sucess, the first average yield of the crop jumping to a considerable extent. In the next two years, there were some problems in this venture of rainfed farming

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REMINISCENCES

Dr. GOUR MOHON DAS DE

The story I am going to tell you is very old, but to me, it seems as though it had occurred only yesterday. I am an old man of sixty now, yet strains of the distance past keep on hovering around my mind—even to this day.

As an young ophthalmologist, I was attached to a certain eye hospital in the suburbs of Calcutta. Due to a number of successful operations, I soon became famous. Patients used to visit me from near and far. Frankly speaking, I was not really 'excellent' in my profession—rather it was my honest, patient and compassionate nature that drew them towards me.

On a certain morning (it was a Saturday I think), a small middle aged woman came in for cataract treatment. She was totally blind. She gave me a short record of her past history. Some two years back, she had had internal haemorrhage in her left eye, due to a previous cataract operation. After that she had suffered so much that the surgeon concerned, was forced to enucleate her eye-ball. It was quite natural that she was afraid to agree to an operation on her right eye this time. But her son compelled her to get operated by me. And so she was admitted into our hospital.

I examined both her eyes. Her left eye was eviscerated and a matured cataract had developed in her right eye. I sent her tear,

blood, and urine etc to the pathological dept. for thorough examination. The result was negative. A date was fixed for the operation. But the woman adamantly refused to be operated until and unless her son came to visit her. I heard from my nurse that her son, after having admitted her into hospital, had not turned up to see his mother, for even a single day. She kept on weeping for her son and refused to take her food regularly.

I went to see her and found that the nurse's report was true. I tried to console her by saying that her son might have been delayed at his father-in-law's place, for some unforeseen reason. On hearing me she said, 'In that case I would be a very happy woman. But Doctor, my son is not yet married. He has refused to marry inspite of my repeated requests. He feels that if he brings any girl into my family she may not treat me well. Being a blind lady, she may neglect me in every way. Such treatment, he will not tolerate. He will marry only when I recover my vision, completely. He is mad Doctor. So you see, why I've come here for the operation.'

"Your son is honest and loving," I replied.

With a smile she said, "Doctor, not only is he honest, but he is also faithful and obedient to his mother. For days I had coaxed him to go out somewhere and enjoy

himself with his friends. He flatly refused to do so—He would not leave me for even a day! Do you know, Doctor, he is even reluctant to go to heaven without me! He goes to his office in the morning and returns home, timely. Such a boy is not coming to see me for two whole weeks! Can you tell me the reason? Don't you feel, Doctor, that this is something absurd and unusual? His long absence has indeed surprised me. I think he must be really ill and suffering tremendously. How am I to stay here? I must leave this place, and be at his bedside, as soon as possible. It is also strange that even his bosom friend does not come to see me. Possibly he is busy somewhere. He is a good boy, too."

I felt pity for her and asked her, "How many children have you, Madam?"

"Only one son, Doctor," she answered.

"What about your relatives? Can't they visit you?"

She told me in despair, "Alas! Once I had no end of relatives in our good days. But after my husband's sudden death, far from coming to see me, they have swindled all my property and wealth, leaving me in utter poverty. I've brought up my son with the sweat of my brow! It's a long story, Doctor, I will tell you more of it some other time."

"You are now happy, Madam, aren't you?"

"Yes, Doctor, you may say so. At present my son is earning well and tries to satisfy me in every way, possible. But sometimes I feel sad, thinking I can't persuade him to get married. He is now of a marriageable age. He should have a family now. My days are limited. I would be happy if I see

him well settled. Doctor, are you listening?"

"Yes, Madam, I am. May I suggest something!" I asked her.

"Yes?"

"Please write to your son saying that you are very sick. He will surely come quickly, then. Or else, will you permit me to write to him, explaining everything?"

She was really glad. Smiling, she replied, "How very kind of you, Doctor, I can't write myself. Please write to him, saying that his mother is on her death-bed."

During the next few days, I penned him not one, but several letters, stating the seriousness of his mother's illness. There was no reply. I became quite annoyed and wrote to him again, strongly stating, that if he did not turn up within a week or so, the hospital authorities might discharge his mother without showing any reason. This time the letter was sent by registered post.

A couple of days later, I was informed by the ward nurse that the widow's son had come to see her with his face, neck, and head, well bandaged. I further heard that he had been admitted into hospital himself as a patient, suffering from a serious attack of diphtheria, and nearly a month ago, he had his trachea operated. On account of this calamity he was unable to speak to his mother. I felt sorry, indeed, in having sent him that hard letter without knowing about all this. All the same, I felt suspicious. At his age, he was not supposed to have been attacked by a virulent type of diphtheria. I satisfied myself in thinking that it might have been a rare case. After her son's visit, the woman became radiantly happy and agreed to undergo the operation.

The very next day I performed her operation. It was successful. Daily the boy used to come to see his mother with those bandages on. But he refused to see me even once.

The day before removing her eye bandage, he came to see me without any bandage on and chatted with me like any other person. I observed the boy from head to foot, but found no scar mark in front of his neck or any other part of his body. I was astonished. I asked him the reason for his disguise. He told me the whole story.

He was not the woman's son, but her son's bosom friend. Her son had met with a motor accident and died on the spot while going to his office the very day he had admitted his mother in hospital. He was thoroughly upset about the death of his best friend. He had received all my letters but dared not come to hospital to see her lest she got to the truth. Had it happened before her operation, she would have lost her eye due to her grief or she might not have got operated at all. So he was very reluctant to come to see her. After receiving my registered letter, he was terribly shaken. He could not decide what to do and was in a proper fix.

Then he disguised himself as an operated patient. This get up helped him to keep mum. So, daily he was able to visit his

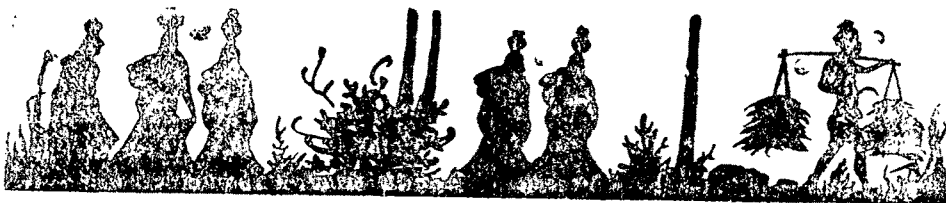
friend's mother confidently. Though some shade of suspicion had arisen in the woman's mind, once or twice, while feeling his face, yet she never got to the truth.

After relating the sad story he requested of me, "Doctor, please, do not ask me to come tomorrow and stand before her. When you open her bandage she will eagerly expect to see her son first. If she sees me instead, she will not be happy and will never forgive me when she comes to know the truth. She'll become terribly upset and may curse me and call me a cheat. Then You know, Doctor, that the most violent grief that one can experience, as a mother, is the loss of a child. I'll have to suffer her curse."

He began to weep again.

I listened to this sad tale, amazed. After a few moments, I consoled him, saying, "Yes, it is a violent and terrible grief. It overturns and lacerates. But my boy, she will be healed of such a catastrophe in time. We, human beings, are forever riding in a train of sadness and sorrow. Forget everything. What you have done is for the best. Don't be afraid, my boy. You are honest and intelligent. I will shoulder all the rebuke and curses from her, if there be any."

Lightly I touched his tearful cheeks with my finger tips. The boy slowly walked out without a word.



RECESSION IN INDIA

Dr. B. R. S. GUPTA

IMPORT POLICY—CAUSE FOR RECESSION;

There is a great need for necessary changes in the import policy for ensuring optimum utilisation of indigenous production capacity. A liberal import Policy is always desirable, but it should not be achieved by crippling the indigenous industrial production capacity. Following liberalisation in some areas of import policy recently, a number of goods and commodities had been brought under OGL, though in some cases adequate indigenous capacities were available. As a result many foreign countries, which are already suffering from severe industrial recession, have begun dumping their cheap goods, mass-produced with the help of superior technology—passing on their recession to India. Non-food credit, which had expanded at a phenomenal rate last year, has suddenly reversed its gear and shrunk nearly choking industries in the first half of this year. Even the available bank credit was not evenly distributed, leading to sickness in many industrial sectors. Industrial recession in India will be a thing of the past soon when international credit which is scheduled to flow more to the commercial sector than to the government sector, would actually materialise next year. It can be held that while there was recession in various degrees in different industries causing decline in their production, it was also true that production in a much larger portion of the

industrial sector is accelerating. In balance, the overall industrial scene was 'certainly uphill.' Recession could be countered and growth could be accelerated only by increasing productivity and by distributing its benefits equitably.

All important economic parametres like industrial production and employment generation registered in the various states of India during the past few years have not borne out any recessionary trends. According to Keynes theory, inflation and recession are a cyclical phenomenon. But now the phenomenon seems to have broken down with recession and inflation occurring simultaneously, giving rise to what was now called 'stagflation'. The traditional Keynesian prescription for recession of increased Government spending to boost demand, however, has the risk that any unproductive spending led to uncontrolled inflation. The only remedy seemed to be by employing people in productive and wealth creating activities. India could not genuinely complain of any 'imported recession' because its international trade is a very small percentage of its GNP. Prescribing cures at the microlevel of production, the following areas should be taken care of—

- 1—More investment in developing and buying technology to improve productivity of both labour and capital;

- 2—a stronger consumer orientation in

terms of quality and time consciousness, producing goods, which are what the consumer needs and a good distribution system;

3—tighter management control of time and cost over-runs in project implementation;

4—better management of working capital to improve cash flow, especially in conditions of credit squeeze;

5—imaginative use of tax laws and government policies to help industrial growth.

6—more emphasis on training and developing personnel to improve their productivity, resulting in better industrial relations;

7—working in close co-operation with the government to ensure co-ordination and understanding of each other's views, and

8—helping to increase the productivity of the farm sector which is still pivotal in the country's economy and which determines recessions and booms of the economy.

Needless to add, that recession came to this country first, when the western countries reduced import of jute sackings from India nearly a year ago. Later, the malady overtook other major industrial sectors like textiles, engineering goods and basic chemicals.

CURE FOR RECESSION;

The first and foremost cure for recession lay in making available easy credit to distribution channels. If every able-bodied man gets credit of Rs. 200 per head, it would not only create an enormous demand for goods, but would also give a tremendous push to productive work, making the overall

economy buoyant. In a developing society, luxuries of today turn into necessities of tomorrow, and as such no discrimination should be made between the two for the purpose of either making available credit or incidence of taxation. The fiscal power of the government should be made use of in such a way that it would help to promote industries and employment. In India, people generally employ good money in bad, outdated technology perpetuating low productivity and inefficiency.

PHDCCI's SOLUTION ;

Needless to add, to overcome the present demand recession in the Indian economy, the Punjab, Haryana, Delhi Chamber of Commerce and Industry has suggested an early return to 34% statutory liquidity ratio (SLR) and 6% cash Reserve Ratio (CSR). The Chamber has also suggested a gradual release of the incremental deposit of Rs. 1,800 crores impounded by the RBI between 1979-80. It was felt that the adjustment in the CSR and SLR has led to a substantial contraction in bank credit. The bearer bond scheme of 1981 had further reduced the flow of funds by over Rs.1,000 crores. The trade deficit and debt servicing obligations were met from the foreign exchange reserves involving a corresponding reduction in the money supply. Further, over Rs 2,300 crores were locked up in sick industries and non-recovery of loans to the priority sectors.

The Chamber states that plan projects like irrigation, power capacity expansion and wagon building have not been pursued vigorously to generate dynamism in other sectors supplying equipment and machinery and to some extent the deposit of D. A.

accruing to the Central Government employees to provident Fund has reduced the disposable income.

The Chamber has thus suggested that the import policy should be reviewed and fiscal measures adopted to give protection to the domestic industries wherever deemed necessary.

In many cases of consumer durables there is a need to reduce prices to stimulate offtake through a reduction in excise duties. The Chamber has suggested that efforts to produce more oil indigenously should be intensified and conservation of oil wherever possible be done. Industry and Government should co-ordinate and strengthen their efforts to find markets abroad for products which face recessionary trends demands within the country.

RECESSION SEEN AS BLESSING ;

At a Group Discussion organised by the Delhi Study Group on : RECESSION OR READJUSTMENT : a suggestion was made by more than one speaker that the present recessionary trends in certain sectors of the industry should be utilised to streamline production processes and thereby lower costs. Mr. K. N. Modi, noted industrialist admitted that recession in a way is essential for the health of the industry. It would be the time for stock-taking when the industry should strive to reduce costs and improve

quantity. This exercise would help create demand. Mr. Modi urged the government to have a judicious import policy so as to mitigate the rigours of the industry. There is also a need for change in the industrial relations policy. An industrial truce is needed. This did not imply freezing of the worker's economic demands.

Mr. S. M. Ghosh, secretary, Ministry of Industrial Development is of the opinion that the industrial growth rate, which was 8.6% for the fiscal year ending March, 1981, had dropped to 6.2% for the first quarter of the new fiscal year. He was, however, hopeful that 1982-83 would end with a growth rate of 8.2% or so. Needless to add, Indian industry has to do two things for which the government could not do anything. First, the costs should be reduced. Secondly, they must know how to market their goods. The recessionary trends in certain sectors, could be traced to the depletion of short-term credit. Even though the production credit situation was sought to be retrieved some months ago, the RBI instructions are still to reach bank branches across the country. Because of this communication gap, credit has not started flowing in. Lowering of the interest rates for a boost in the industrial activity has been suggested for this purpose. Some economists disagree with this plea and in their opinion the same should be increased. They feel that credit squeeze is necessary for the longstanding ills of Industry—

EDUCATIONAL PROBLEMS IN WEST BENGAL

BIBHUTI BHUSAN BOSE

Now-a-days it has become the fashion for persons who are in charge of Government to do something new. This craze for the new and the unknown has at last invaded the field of education. The Government of India after Independence has set up three Commissions—Radhakrishnan Commission (1948), Mudaliar Commission (1952) and Kothari Commission (1964). The Mudaliar Commission recommended a Eleven Year Higher Secondary and a three year B.A. Degree Course. The Kothari Commission has set aside the recommendation of the Mudaliar Commission for an Eleven Year Course and has again reverted to a Ten Year Secondary Education, a Two Year Intermediate (Known as Higher Secondary) and a two year B.A. Degree Course (Honours in three years). This process of experiment has totally upset the mental equilibrium of the average students whose only problem is to pass Examinations and get an opportunity for employment. In recent years the aims and ideals of education have been completely reorientated in theory but their actual implementation in practice has proved a much more difficult job than was expected. Hence, we think it is time to ponder over the problems of education deeply and attempt thereby to solve some of the baffling problems faced by the students of to-day.

For over a century since the Universities of Bombay, Calcutta and Madras were established in the country in 1857, a basic struc-

ture was set up for secondary and higher education. The High Schools took charge of Secondary and Higher Education (Entrance upto 1909 and Matriculation upto 1951). They taught the boys and girls admitted there and sent them up for University Education. Then followed a collegiate course—in two distinct stages—First Arts (F.A. and from 1910 I.A. or I.Sc.) and Bachelor of Arts (B.A. upto 1909 and B.A. B. Sc. from 1910) each of two years' duration. After graduating pupils used to appear in the M. A. Examination (at first a year's course and later a two year course). Various minor changes in manner, course and nomenclature took place from time to time, but the basic factors remained the same all through the century (i.e., 1858 to 1958). i.e., the duration of collegiate course was for four years, in two distinct stages (upto Graduation) and then the Post-Graduate in two years.

For sometime now the Government has pondered over making changes—both in the curriculum and in the structure—of the educational system in New India. It has invariably become a fashion for our administrators to do something new and novel. Most of these experiments—as events have shown—were indulged in without due thought and provision and apparently merely for novelty's sake. These changes have been quite far-reaching. The century old structure of the educational machinery, the systems, the course of examination and period of educa-

tion-all have been completely upset and the contents, curriculum and the course of studies have been altered very much.

The Left Front Government in West Bengal is also not lagging far behind the Central Government in their craze for the new and has made an all out effort to attack the field of education. West Bengal Government is trying to solve the problem of education by radical reform. We shall discuss below some of the major proposals of West Bengal Government and furnish our opinions afterwards.

Primary Stage.

- i) Left Front Government in West Bengal has proposed the ban of English from Class I to Class V in Bengali medium Schools supported by government.
- ii) The Government has banned Sahaj Path by Rabindra Nath Tagore from Class I and II and introduced another book (compiled from various eminent writers of Bengal) in its place. The plea is that in the writings of Rabindra Nath they have found the seed of caste and class division. But due to strong public opinion it has been forced to stay this proposal for the time being.
- iii) The Left Front Government proposes that all students in any Class from Class I to V will be declared to have been successful and all will get promotion, automatically.

Secondary Stage.

Sanskrit has been declared an additional subject and any other subject may be taken in its place.

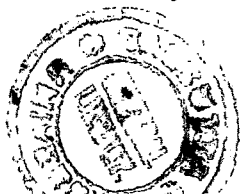
DEGREE COURSE.

English and Bengali languages are declared additional subjects by the Left Front Government.

These are, in short, the major proposals of the Left Front Government.

Over the last 2 years Intellectuals of West Bengal have launched a struggle against these obnoxious proposals. Late Dr. Nihar Rajan Roy, late Prof. Sushabhon Sarkar, Probodh Chandra Sen, Dr. Protul Chandra Gupta etc., have written articles against the banning of English and against withdrawing of Sahaj Path of Rabindra Nath from the curriculum of primary schools. They are afraid that in future the difference between the haves and havenots will be wider due to increase in the number of English medium schools run by i) Individuals and organisations and ii) Christian Missionaries as well as by iii) Enlightened persons and organisations, where the medium of instruction is in the Vernacular and special stress is laid on the teaching of English. Children from affluent families usually go to these schools. Those who go to the Bengali medium Schools will suffer later on in new Competative examinations due to their poor knowledge of English.

Replacement of Sahaj Path (Part I and II) of Rabindra Nath on the false plea that there is a seed of class or caste hatred is entirely false, and unwarranted. Fortunately the idea of replacement of Sahaj Path has been abandoned by the Left Front Government in West Bengal due to heavy public pressure. The idea of no failure in examinations in the primary stage of our schools is not possible also. In its place monthly examinations have been introduced and teachers are forced to get their pupils promoted to the higher



Class due to Government notification, inspite of the fact that some students are completely unfit for that Class. Ultimately there will be complete intellectual stagnation in this country due to the principle of no failure in examinations upto Class V followed by Left Front Government, as those without academic merit will be holding places which should have been given to the meritorious students only.

Secondary Stage.

Sanskrit has been abolished from the Secondary stage. Sanskrit is the mother of all Indian languages and a store-house of knowledge, e. g. lyrical poems, philosophy, astronomy and astrology and gives a vivid picture of the Indian conception of an ideal life on earth. If it is abolished, students will be deficient in mastering their mother tongue also. In this connection, the remarks of Vidyasagar may be mentioned :—

"If I get the freedom to teach them (students) Sanskrit to acquire a proper command over Bengali and then to impart to them real knowledge through English and if I get the necessary assistance and encouragement from the Education Committee in my work, then I can assure you that within a few years I shall produce a band of students who will more efficiently help spread education among the people by virtue of their capacity to write and teach the students who have proved their merit in any of your English or Indian Colleges (Extract from the letter written to Dr. Monat, the then Secretary of Education Committee)."

Persons who are in charge of educational reform in West Bengal should remember the opinion of Pt. Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar about Sanskrit even to-day.

Degree Course.

Teaching of English and Bengali were compulsory for over a century in the Graduation Course. With the advent of the Left Front Government this has been set aside and declared optional. The move is prejudicial to the interests of our country. Languages should be cultivated by certain classes in the interest of culture and should not be thought of in the commercial light. After endless controversy over the vexed question of the place of English in Free India, all have agreed that English has still a vital role to play in providing adequate education in our schools and colleges though the medium of instruction may be in the mother tongue. But as a result of the crusade against English which was started immediately after the attainment of Independence, a spirit of resentment against English in extra-academic functions in schools and colleges and finally the use of the mother tongue in all subjects has resulted in the majority of College students not being able to follow lectures in English. The prevailing idea is that English should be read in schools as a language and not as literature. It is being forgotten that the enjoyment of any language lies in memorable pieces of literary creation and is the most powerful aid and stimulant to the learning of that language. Hence, the teacher in English should do his best to generate in his students a passion for wide and miscellaneous reading without which no student can acquire ease and facility in understanding or expression in respect of a foreign language. All explanations in the English Class should be in English. An escapist mode of teaching English through the mother tongue, which is fast gaining popularity, can be of little use for fostering the students' command over English. Hence, the teaching of English involves the responsibility of preserving the

great tradition that understanding of English by a large body of people gives them ready access through that gateway to the vast treasure house of world knowledge. In the field of Science and technology this is of primary importance.

Quotations are seen against and for the abolition of English from the primary stage of our education in all places of West Bengal on Walls, in newspapers, magazines, leaflets etc. Protagonists for abolition of English from the curriculum of our schools and colleges should remember that nowhere did Rishi Bankim, Sir Gorooodas, Rabindra Nath or Mahatma Gandhi advocate complete avoidance of English in India. On the other hand, they recognised it as a connecting link of the peoples of all provinces in India and abroad and a store-house of knowledge and means for propagation of Indian culture in the world. Dr. Suniti kumar Chatterjee, the eminent Indian Scholar, said that we can stand before the world with the help of English and Sanskrit and these two languages should be mastered thoroughly in order to preach the Indian way of life before the world.

As regards the Honours course for graduation, it should be kept in mind that the Pass course is really a continuation of Higher School Course teaching in greater details and in a more informative way. It should not be tagged with Honours because it will create problems for University teaching and disturb the essential requirement of a mere B.A. Course. In fact, an Honours student often cannot pay proper attention to the Honours subjects of the Degree Course and sometimes fail in examinations due to the pass subjects. Hence, in our humble opinion, the meritorious students should be permitted to appear for the Honours subjects in the final year and be expected to fulfil the

more searching and rigorous standards. Honours should under no condition be mixed up with the Pass subjects and special Honours courses should immediately be introduced.

Post Graduate system

Of all the stages of education University education should present the least difficulty or risk of maladjustment. This stage should include both Honours (as it has already been indicated above) and Post Graduate teaching and should be open to all students who have passed B.A. Honours with credit. Their training should qualify them to be leaders of thought, and promoters of original research, of the discovery of new realms of knowledge and fulfilment of administrative tasks at the highest level. But, unfortunately, we find now-a-days that University education has been turning out a host of undistinguished mediocres who are utilised for all sorts of jobs not requiring any high standard of intellectual fitness. The wide range of study that an M.A. or Honours syllabus prescribes no doubt makes the knowledge of the subject broad based and comprehensive, but it is bound to be fruitless unless it evokes the finer traits of the mind and superior grasp and original thinking. There is something wrong in our selection of students and method of teaching that achieves such meagre results at the cost of disproportionate time, expenses and trouble. Everywhere higher education is not a feast of the spirit, a free grazing on fresh green pastures but a rationed food, measured out rigidly. The Ideal University should scatter knowledge to all corners of the country and encourage disinterested pursuit of knowledge.

Moral training.

According to Late Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, Ex-President of India, though 'faith in the Supreme Spirit is the basic principle of the Indian tradition, our State will not identify itself with or be controlled by any particular religion. All alike will be free to share to the fullest degree in the common life. This is the meaning of secularism'. Thus, it is crystal clear that even in a secular state like India, authorities of our schools or colleges may encourage classes on morality and universal religion. Teaching of the biographies of great religious personalities, the ideal of a chaste life, rules of conduct common to all religions, may be held out as an ideal to the students. In colleges also teaching of great religious personalities and ideals of other walks of life may be given through lectures, symposiums etc. Thus, a moral re-orientation of the society through religious education may be possible in West Bengal.

Technical training.

The present system of education does not take into account the industrial employment or requirements in its curriculum. Hence one trained with an eye to a special vocation will prove more of a misfit if he is found superfluous for that particular job. The

present craze for science and technology to the utter neglect of general liberal education may ease unemployment for the time being but will eventually sow the seeds of a greater maladjustment and disturb the very basis of our educational structure. The ultimate result of our unplanned technical education will be to intensify unemployment and may bring chaos and disorder in our society.

We have discussed, in brief, the chaotic condition in the educational system of West Bengal. The grave and wide spread student unrest and a cynical attitude towards moral and cultural values so acutely noticed in our student community, raises doubt about the efficacy of the educational system. Schools and Colleges are no longer regarded as places for character building but mere factories for turning out an immense number of machines who are often found unfit to find jobs for their proper living.

In conclusion, we do hope that the Government of West Bengal will drop the idea of so-called reform of education already made chaotic by the Government of India through their various Commissions and endeavours to establish more properly equipped schools throughout the state, so that the number of drop-outs among school going children decreases, and a larger number of students benefit from a tried, pattern of education.



Current Affairs

OBSERVING WEATHER FROM SPACE

(The article with an editorial comment features the theme of the world meteorological day, 1982.)

The weather moves across the earth's surface without regard to national boundaries and barriers. In weather forecasting and in other specialised areas of meteorology, accurate and comprehensive observations of the atmosphere on a global scale at different times are fundamental to studies that further our knowledge and understanding of the way the earth's atmosphere behaves. So far India has a complex network of weather data supply through a number of observatories which release balloons daily at regular intervals going up to a height of six kilometers to record wind speed and direction and there are other stations releasing balloons to a height of 25 km twice daily to measure temperature and humidity at the same time with the other observatories of the world, so that the global weather situation at a given moment can be mapped. International information received by India are analysed to map the high or low pressure areas to predict a fair or bad weather. The advent of space technology and the launching of the artificial earth-orbiting satellites heralded unprecedented opportunities to scan and study the weather on such a truly global scale. India is entering into this particular phase of progress in meteorology.

with the launching of the first Meteorological satellite TIROS-I (Television Infra-red Observational Satellite) by U. S. on 1 April, 1960, a new era in meteorology has begun. Meteorologists all over the world were quick to appreciate the tremendous potentialities of such space-based platforms for use in their own field. Oceanographers and hydrologists too are considerably benefited from the fund of informations being made available from these new space.

These satellites are capable of surveillance over a large area and obtain a wealth of information immediately as had never been possible before. Expressed very simply, meteorological satellites have three basic capabilities— They can 'Look', 'Listen' and 'Talk'.

The first of these capabilities is most widely known by the impressive pictures (or images, as they are generally known in meteorology) obtained by them by means of vidicon system or television cameras and radiometers. A satellite in space 'look' down towards the earth, receives the various features beneath it and obtains their visible pictures during the day light. During night the infra-red images are obtained from the heat (thermal) radiation emitted by the objects towards the radiometer of the satellite.

These photographs are transmitted continuously and are received in any country over

which the satellite is passing, by means of a simple ground equipment known as Automatic Picture Transmission (APT). Meteorological Department, Government of India, indigenously manufacture APT equipments and receive satellite pictures at several stations routinely for use in weather forecasting offices.

The second capability of the satellite—ability to 'listen'—is that, it can receive by means of various sensors meteorological, hydrological and Oceanographic data originated from remote unattended location through the device called Data Collection Platform (DCP).

The third primary capability of the satellite—being able to 'talk'—is the means by which data available on board the satellite, either from its own sensors or from DCP can be sent back to earth, on command, for appropriate use.

Meteorological satellites are generally divided into two types—the Polar orbiting and the Geostationary. The Polar orbiting types are launched at an altitude between 800 km and 1000 km. They pass near both the North and South poles in the course of a single orbit and take about 105 minutes to circle the earth. The Polar orbiting satellites are useful for global coverage but are not considered suitable for observing localised changes in weather systems which occur over relatively short periods of time.

On the other hand, the Geostationary Satellite (sometimes called Geo-Synchronous satellite) orbiting at an altitude of about 36,000 km, remain stationery at a particular point on the equator and so can always view the same area of the earth's surface and can provide near continuous imagery of more

than a quarter of the earth's surface.

In the month of April, India will launch the first generation Indian National Satellite (INSAT-A) which is a multipurpose Geostationary Satellite (located at 74°E Longitude) from the Test Range of Cape Canaveral, U. S. A, for providing service to telecommunication, meteorology and Television by the joint ventures of Indian Space Research Organisation (ISRO), the Posts and Telegraphs Department, the India Meteorological Department, Civil Aviation, Doordarshan and All India Radio.

The INSAT meteorological components consist of a very high resolution Radiometer for photographing earth's surface in the visible and Infra-red channels to produce cloud pictures on real time basis. The system will provide round the clock half hourly (even as frequently as every 6 minutes of specified areas) Synoptic observations of weather systems including cyclones, sea surface and cloud top temperatures, cloud type, height of cloud, water bodies, wind in the upper atmosphere, snow cover etc. mapping the entire territory of India as well as adjoining sea and land areas. It will also collect meteorological and oceanographic data from about 100 unattended remote automatic Data Collection Platforms (D.C.P.) deployed all over the country to a Major Centre, called Meteorological Data Utilisation Centre (MDUC) at New Delhi for processing and dissemination of meteorological data received from INSAT to all Meteorological offices in the proper form.

INSAT-MDUC will have facilities for closely monitoring the Cyclonic Storms which form over the Indian Seas. The cloud pictures produced at MDUC will be transmi-

tted to important Meteorological offices within the country using telephone lines to be provided by P & T Department.

Under the INSAT Disaster warning System (DWS) meteorological warnings can be sent directly to the satellite to be received in time by specially designed DWS receivers located in areas actually affected by natural calamities, like cyclones and floods.

The television component of the INSAT-IA system can provide direct TV broadcasting to community TV receivers in rural areas and nationwide TV coverage in one step.

The wealth of data from the operational and research Polar and Geo-stationery Satellites are being put to very good use in numerous projects and is contributing towards an improved understanding of and solution to so many problems of the science of meteorology.

Remarkable progress has been made in satellite meteorology over the last twenty years. Satellite systems are unsurpassed as means of making global observations of the atmosphere and oceans. With their further development in the coming years they will not only contribute to improve weather forecasting and timely warning facilities to the community but also enrich our knowledge in atmospheric leading ultimately to weather modification as such and thus extending benefit to whole of mankind still further.

In view of the utility of weather observation from space presented by the author India being an agricultural country and dependent on the monsoons may plan to utilise the

present weather observation facilities to the rural areas. In 1979 summer, India in collaboration with U. S. conducted international Monsoon experiment (Monex) to collect data with the help of research ships and aircrafts. In 1977 the Agrometeorological Advisory Service was introduced for Tamilnadu for improvement of effectiveness of weather forecast in terms of its influence on the crops. The Service is known to be extended to all the States by 1983. In the world climate conference held in 1979, Dr. M. S. Swaminathan stressed upon the effective role of weather information related to monsoon as a deciding factor in water management and food distribution.

For this purpose it is necessary to have more regional observatories for collecting information for improving agriculture production and also for warning against flood and cyclonic storms.

In 1979, the U. S. satellite rightly located the east coast of Andhra Pradesh to be hit by a storm before the occurrence. The information helped the authorities to evacuate the villagers in advance thus saving thousands of lives. The warnings are generally disseminated through radio message. It is necessary to involve the village panchayats by equipping information to them in due time and village level weather stations, if introduced, will be helpful in recording local weather, collecting information from regional observatories and disseminating the same in the locality.

Simple equipments for weather data analysis may be useful for these rural weather centres. The existing science clubs in the country, if aided by the authority for this purpose, may render similar service to some extent. The utility of the space research

programme of our country, unduly criticised, may thus be within the reach of the common people.

Observing weather from space, the theme for world meteorological day of the year will be fruitful to its true sense, when such observational data are applied to the various spheres of the society.—

Science & Culture

JOBS FOR LANDLESS POOR

Often they are left out of the development process. Frequently, projects in their area which claim the name "development" deny them the jobs which they desperately need. "They" are the landless poor of the world. If development fails them, as often is the case then, arguably, development fails altogether.

But more attention is now being paid to the plight of this group. In India's West Bengal State a systematic attempt has been mounted to enable landless tribes and share-croppers to have self-sustaining employment all the year round.

At present unemployment and underemployment are rife among the 34 tribes in the state. Little land is available for cultivation; soil erosion is common; rainfall is low and erratic and agriculture is heavily dependent on a single crop—rice. Tribesmen earn less than half the average wage of West Bengal workers as a whole—which is hardly surprising as they have little or no work for half the year.

AS BADLY OFF AS EVER

Some public works programmes have created jobs for them in the past, but, when completed, the landless workers are as badly off as ever. Now the ILO is backing a long-term effort by the government of West Bengal to help the landless tribal people have permanent jobs.

This effort consists of assisting local workers to form their own cooperative organisations and helping them to acquire marketable skills through appropriate training. Local public works departments are being urged to award the new co-operatives contracts on a sustained basis, for example for badly needed reforestation. Public works programmes alone cannot, however, provide sustained sources of income; the worker co-operatives are therefore being encouraged to seek other kinds of work.

NEW CO-OPERATIVES

At Bandwan in the Purulia district of West Bengal, where a project backed by the ILO and the Danish International Development Agency began in January 1981, there is considerable scope for local material based industries, such as rope making from grass known as sabai, the production of palm leaf products and a host of small scale local industrial activities.

Some 300 to 400 workers will receive training at Bandwan and will be helped to form and manage new co-operatives and to learn the necessary skills to run a successful organisation themselves. The new co-operatives will at first come under the wing of an existing West Bengal government organisation, Large Size Multi-Purpose

Co-operative Societies (LAMP3) LAMPS
will give workers the day-to-day assistance they need to run their co-operatives.

Around 20 training units are to be set up for different types of activity including blacksmithy, tinsmithy, handloom weaving, tailoring, carpentry, bamboo crafts, bee keeping, brick and tile making and rope making. Stipends are to be provided for trainees and finance will be available to the co-operatives to purchase plant and machinery.

One of the first tasks to be tackled by the new co-operatives will be the creation of village woodlots on about 160 hectares. This alone will generate some 41,600 man-days of employment. Sabai grass will be planted on 200 hectares of forest land so that sufficient raw material is available for rope making.

ENCOURAGING RESULTS

A pilot project to promote employment for the landless poor has already been carried out in the West Bengal district of Midnapore. Four co-operatives have been created by this project, which began in 1978, and results are encouraging. They are now regularly awarded departmental contracts for reforestation and small-scale irrigation works, reducing the long period of slack season idleness.

In Midnapore, as in Bandwan, success will largely depend on the workers. But this international effort in West Bengal is helping the landless poor to know that development projects can assist, and not ignore them, and even discriminate for, and not against them.

—I L O Information Bulletin

IRON ORE EXPLORED

About 376 million tonnes reserve of iron ore of all categories and grades have been explored by Geological Survey of India in the three areas of Bihar-Orissa sector namely Jhiling-Langlota, Appahatu-Banspani and Thakurani accordingly to G S I sources. The sources said that another reserve of 120 million tonnes has been estimated to have existed south of Hospet. Mapping of 222 square kilometers out of 500 square kilometers of the iron ore bearing areas in Samdur Schist Belt of Karnataka has been complete the sources said and added that in the North Goa Sector also mapping for iron ore has been completed over an area of 800 square kilometers.

Besides this, investigation by mapping and drilling for coal reserves was continued in eighteen coalfields spread over Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa, Tamil Nadu and West Bengal the GSI sources stated and added that two new coal seams one of the thickness of 7.44 meters and the other of the thickness of 3.25 meters have been struck at a depth of 923.80 meters and 960 meters respectively in Andal-Dakshinkhanda-Tamla-Dubchraia sector of Raniganj coal field in West Bengal. Similarly new coal seams of varying thickness at varying depths have been struck so far in Madhya Pradesh and Bihar the sources said.

COAL RESERVES EXPLORED

8.4 meter thick coal seam has been explored by Geological Survey of India at a depth of 200.51 meters from the surface in Bajari-Sonepur-Pandaveswar-Debroma-Chora Ukhra Sector in Raniganja Coal fields according to GSI sources. The sources also said

that two more seams of the thickness of 2.62 metres and 4 metres have been encountered by GSI at the depths of 776.30 metres and 730.55 metres respectively in Andal Dak sinkhanda Tamla Dubchurta sector.

It may be recalled that earlier Central Mine Planning and Design Institute had explored coal reserve of 450 million tonnes in an area of 20 square kilometers in Sonapur-Bajani area when it drilled 120 bore holes totalling depth of 14,000 metres.

ECL'S AFFORESTATION PROGRAMME

Eastern Coalfields Limited in its vigorous afforestation programme in its periphery has appointed a forest officer to implement the programme according to ECL sources. Since 1977, ECL has planted upto last year one lakh seventyseven thousand saplings of assorted varieties the sources said and added that in the year 1981-82 ECL has planted twentyfive thousand saplings of various types including fruit bearing trees and costly timber plants.

"Coal field Tribune"

PESTICIDES & MENTAL DISORDERS

Two Israeli scientists investigating the intricate processes by which nerve signals are transmitted in the brain have uncovered evidence which should cause farm workers handling insecticides to exercise new caution.

The two professors of neurobiology at Weizmann Institute of Science here in Israel

have offered a possible explanation of why some workers exposed to insecticides may experience depression, paranoia, recurrent nightmares and other mental disorders.

"The symptoms developed by some people exposed to insecticides were described a long time ago by others," said Prof. Yadin Dudai, who has devoted the past two years to this particular research. "The challenge has been to find out why", he said.

"We are not working in the field—with people in contact with insecticides," stressed Prof. Israel Silman, who immigrated to Israel from England with his family as a child, and under whom Dr. Dudai prepared his doctoral thesis. "Our work concentrated on molecular, biochemical and pharmacological mechanisms in the brain that may explain the effects of chronic exposure to insecticides."

With that introduction, Prof. Silman turned the floor over to his younger colleague, who gave a simplified sketch of their research:

CHEMICAL MESSENGERS

The Line of communications between nerve cells in the brain, explained Dudai, is filtered by enzymes. One such enzyme, which is called acetylcholinesterase, degrades a chemical, called acetylcholine, which transmits messages from one nerve cell to another. The scientists have shown in experiments on rats that acetylcholinesterase can be adversely affected by pesticides or certain nerve gases. The poisons, in effect, reduce the level of acetylcholinesterase, thus causing faulty transmission of the nerve messages. The culprit is a group of organophos-

phorous compounds, common in many insecticides used today, including ordinary household insect sprays sold in the supermarket.

In large direct doses, the acetylcholinesterase in the brain is blocked, the amount of acetylcholine increases, and hyperstimulation of the nerves occurs. Paralysis and later death is the result. But Dudai and Silman were more concerned with the effect of organophosphorous compounds in smaller quantities, similar to the situation of a farm worker who may be exposed to relatively small amounts of the toxic agent over a long period of time. Their research into how acetylcholine functions—how it is released, how it is degraded and how it interacts with nerve cells—has provided a clearer picture of why great care should be taken in handling insecticides.

EARLY INDICATIONS

It was in the 1960s that disturbing information regarding mental ailments started to accumulate. Complaints from greenhouse technicians, scientific personnel, farmers and professional sprayers began to sound strangely alike. A 1961 report by Australian researchers recounted the histories of 16 agricultural workers who showed serious schizophrenic-like symptoms after long-term contact with organophosphorous materials. These patients had had no record of any mental instability before their exposure to insecticides.

Against this background of information Profs. Dudai and Silman launched their experiments on laboratory rats to study the effects of the organophosphorous insecticides Tetram and Paraoxon, eventually suggesting that the observed disturbances could be a result of the lack of adequate transmission between nerve cells.

BRAIN DAMAGE NOT PERMANENT

The Weizmann professors say there is a positive note to their research: the damage due to chronic insecticide exposure appears to be reversible. That is to say, just staying away from dangerous chemicals should slowly reverse the damage to the nervous system.

The Israeli researchers point out that research parallel to theirs is being conducted in the U.S. and Australia and that scientists in these countries are arriving at similar conclusions. Prof. Silman, still intrigued by the behaviour of acetylcholinesterase, now plans to study its basic structure. New light on this enzyme, he feels, could have further important implications for many—including farm workers handling insecticides.

—“News From ISREAL”

NO WAR BUT PEACE

The world, to-day, is afflicted with various crises. The power-politics of the super-powers, internal and international politics, racialism, communalism, sectarianism and materialism besides other dark forces are out to embitter the life of mankind and threaten their very existence.

In the midst of such storm and strife, it has become impossible for the small but dignified races to survive. And the only ray of hope for survival is through revival of their distinctive cultural heritage and contribution to the world culture and civilisation, their humble efforts for soothing the afflicted people with the message of their noble religion, culture and civilization. This noble endeavour

for establishing peace in the world by propagating the doctrine of amity, friendship and peace leading to the universal Brotherhood of men irrespective of caste, creed and nationality in terms of Buddhist Social Philosophy may be regarded as the sine qua non for the mankind.

What is 'nuclear war' and what is 'disarmament' is known to all students of Political science besides others acquainted therewith.

While speaking of the nuclear war based on the Atomic bomb, Hydrogen bomb and Cobalt bomb besides others in the process of making at the arsenals of the super-powers it may be stated summarily that 'early on the morning of August, 1945, an American B-29 dropped a single bomb on the Japanese City of Hiroshima-

The blinding flash of the explosion, a few seconds later, was followed by the appearance of mushroomed-shaped clouds which soon towered for miles over the doomed city. Some 1,50,000 people were killed or wounded and many of the latter were to die in agony from radiation effects, and 75 percent of the buildings of the city were destroyed or badly damaged. Thereafter another city, Nagasaki fell as a victim and holocaust of mass massacre and destruction of other things followed.

In this dramatic and apocalyptic way, people all over the world, came to learn that the atomic age had begun. The doomsday on the 6th August, 1945 marked the world debut of the atomic bomb but it was not its birthday. That day was some years earlier when on the 2nd November, 1942 a small group of scientists in the midst of wartime secrecy gathered underneath the west stands of the University of Chicago's

abandoned football ground, saw the lighting of the first atomic fire on earth. The project was directed by Dr. Arthur H. Compton and Dr. Fermi captained the scientific team which designed and built the atomic furnace or pile.

A short time after explosion in Japan, Mr. Truman, the then President of America was heard to remark in his broadcast to the nation "the basic power of the universe has been unleashed against Japan". Since then the hydrogen bomb and neutron bomb and experiments with bacteriological and chemical weapons have developed further and the destiny of mankind is hanging in the balance either for survival or destruction.

Sensing the evil, the statesmen and scientists all over the world in both the camps of Democracy and Communism have decried those dreaded weapons. Paul Henry Spack, one of the world's wise statesmen was heard to remark in 1955 'Truly, our imagination is not in step with our era.'

And Albert Schweitzer on receipt of his Nobel Peace Prize remarked in course of his address in Oslo on the 4th November, 1954 : "Man has become a superman...because he is in command of latent forces in nature... but he is not elevated to that level of superhuman reason which must correspond to the possession of superhuman force." There are many other opinions on the subject which need not be repeated here.

Now let us revert to the second point of our argument viz., Disarmament as an antidote to the war of nuclear weapons and all the rest of it. Because any sort of war must be opposed as violence, tyranny and persecution of human life and be viewed

as a menace to the prosperity and security of peace and existence of mankind. The problem of disarmament has assumed alarming importance since the discovery of nuclear weapons. To tackle the problem by various agencies of international importance like the Atomic Energy Commission on January 24, 1946 through a Resolution for control of atomic energy for peaceful purposes, by way of inspection and subsequent efforts by the General Assembly of the UNO, Rapacki Plan on the 14th February, 1958, Geneva Conference in 1958, Ten-Power Disarmament Conference of the East-West at Geneva on 15th March, 1960 and Nuclear Test Ban Treaty in 1963, Disarmament Conference in 1964 besides others following thereafter are instances in point.

But what is the result? The cold war between the super-powers is still disturbing the world peace and upsetting the balance in internal and external relations of the countries involved in the issue. Some of the countries in the Middle East and South-East Asia are to-day at dagger's drawn against one another due to sectarian conflict, intolerance, mutual Jealousy and distrust besides international politics.

There is no peace in the world today, and some country or other is afflicted with crisis. Neither the present day Democracy nor Socialism appears to hold any ray of hope for mankind, and there is a crisis in faith due to dogmatism which poses a further threat to amity, friendship and peace.

The dark clouds of war are fast gathering on the horizon of East and West. The next war will be a total one whereby the existence of the world and mankind is destined to be wiped out. It is regrettable that no effort is being made by any contending party, sincerely or whole-heartedly to nip this in the bud. The flame is burning here and there to the horror of peace-loving people in the world. World peace cannot be brought by Summit conferences or diplomatic negotiations but by mutual understanding and co-operation.

erely or whole-heartedly to nip this in the bud. The flame is burning here and there to the horror of peace-loving people in the world. World peace cannot be brought by Summit conferences or diplomatic negotiations but by mutual understanding and co-operation.

"The Maha Bodhi"

WEST GERMANY : A CONTROVERSIAL STAND ON DETENTE

Vladimir Katin, APN Political Commentator.

Writes "Controversial events are taking place in West Germany." The West German Government has signed an agreement with the United States on the further militarization of the country and on the use of its territory for aggression against other countries.

The signing of the new military agreement between West Germany and the United States is not simply an open demonstration of Bonn's unwillingness to contribute to military detente in Europe. The matter seems to be much more serious. The West German leadership is openly playing into the hands of the militarist plans which arouse wide-spread discontent and mass anti-war movements in the Bundesrepublik.

The terms of the new military agreement with the United States envisage the growth of militarism in West Germany along all lines. In particular, in the event of a "crisis situation" six new American armored and motorized divisions, as well as the air force units, will be sent there within a short time. However, even now, before the development of a "crisis situation" the transportation of new American weapons and ammunition to West Germany is to be started. In its turn,

West Germany has assumed the obligation to train 93,000 reservists of the Bundeswehr to be used as a covering force for the sites of the concentration of American weaponry. Such is the answer of the West German Government to the anti-war movement which has swept the country.

The new agreement provides for special advantages of the United States on West German territory and actually the USA's complete sway in using this territory "in the event of a crisis situation or a war". In fact, intensive war preparations will be staged and West Germany will be drawn into them as a direct accomplice.

The metamorphosis which has taken place in Bonn over the past few years is alarming. Although Bonn does not deny the benefits of detente and cooperation, it steps up military tensions. Hans-Dietrich, West German Foreign Minister, believes that the signing of the military agreement with the United States strengthens "the system of deterrence in Europe."

The new agreement concluded by West German and the United States has challenged all European peoples, but primarily the West German people whose land is openly being adapted to war and armed conflicts and to meeting Washington's imperial aims. It would be simple for the NATO headquarters to create a "crisis situation", but for West Germany this would mean a military alarm on a nation-wide scale. A bridge is being thrown from a "crisis situation" to a "limited nuclear war". Such is the sinister aim of the escalation of tension which becomes a reality in Europe through the efforts by West Germany and the United States.

It is worth noting that the West German-

American military alliance is being strengthened at a time when the Soviet Union has taken a decision to introduce, unilaterally, a moratorium on the deployment of its medium-range missiles in the European part of the USSR and when it has expressed its readiness to reduce a certain amount of such missiles already this year, unless there is a new aggravation of the international situation. Washington's and Bonn's actions are far from contributing to tranquility in the world.

Issued by the Information Deptt of the USSR Consulate General in Calcutta.

COOPERATION FOR THE BENEFIT OF UNIVERSAL PEACE

On January 26 India observes a remarkable holiday, Republic Day. This brings back to us the days, when foundations of New Delhi's foreign policy were laid. The main aim of this policy, noted Jawaharlal Nehru in March 1949, is to prevent war. The first Indian Prime Minister believed that this can be achieved by pursuing a positive, constructive and purposeful policy. This line later became known as nonalignment and was joined by numerous Asian, African and Latin American nations. The consistent upholding of peaceful coexistence, loyalty to disarmament and peaceful settlement of conflicts, irreconcilability to racism and colonialism and efforts to and restructuring the international economic order on an equal and just basis became the elements of this policy that allowed India to win a deserved international prestige. Nehru wanted India to carry weight in international affairs—not in the military area, but in many other fields of world politics, that are, in the final

count, more significant and efficient. This dream came true.

The development of friendly cooperation with the USSR became an organic component of India's foreign policy under Nehru. Along with the feeling of centuries—long mutual sympathies, that strengthened during the revolutionary transformation of society in the country of Lenin and the heroic struggle of the Indian patriots for national liberation, common passionate striving for peace became an important basis in Soviet-Indian relations.

Because of the logic of their foreign policy principles and upholding the interests of their peoples, the USSR and India have identical or similar stands on key problems of world politics. They do not oppose themselves to the other members of the international community, but actually express common aspirations of peoples.

The 26th Soviet Communist Party Congress clearly determined the USSR's foreign policy goals: "To safeguard peace—no task is more important now on the international plane for our party, for our people and, for that matter, for all the peoples of the world." Soviet diplomacy's vigorous activities to promote the Congress' peace initiatives regarding the situation in Europe, the Middle East, the Far East and Southwest Asia convincingly prove that in foreign policy the USSR still gives priority to preserving world peace and curbing the arms race.

The establishment by western powers of strong points and military bases for defending their "Vital interests" thousands of miles from their own coast, but in the immediate proximity to India—in the Indian Ocean and on the subcontinent—is a direct challenge to New Delhi's interests. The USSR believes that the Indian Ocean remains a sphere of

vital interests only for the coastal states. It actively backs the efforts of the nations of that region at making the Indian Ocean a peace zone.

The expansionist policies of those forces on the continent that nurture schemes of subduing neighbouring nations are incompatible with the interests of India and all other Asian countries. The hegemonists assume the "right" to give "lessons" to "guilty" peoples, which worry the Asian nations pursuing independent policies. They step up their militaristic preparations, unscrupulously side with imperialism in order to aggravate the international situation and do not seriously approach the problems engendered by their own aggression. Therefore no false smiles and declarations will eliminate justified suspicions that all these are just a political trick to gather strength for decisive actions in realizing their expansionist schemes.

The USSR's and India's foreign policy experience shows that the two sides act in the same directions concerning the numerous problems of peace, international security, and national independence. They are against any manifestations of imperialism, colonialism, neocolonialism, racism and apartheid and cherish the lofty human ideals recorded in the UN Charter. Moscow and New Delhi firmly back the forces of freedom, progress and national independence, be it, say, the liberation struggle of the peoples of Southern Africa or the Arabs' resistance to Zionist aggression. The two nations have realistic and constructive approaches to resolving international disputes. They uphold the political settlement of issues through peaceful talks and observing the sides' legitimate rights.

Not only Moscow and New Delhi stand

to gain from Soviet Indian political cooperation. The joint Indian-Soviet declaration signed by Leonid Brezhnev and Indira Gandhi in December 1980 noted that their relations of mutual understanding, trust and all-round cooperation "constitute an important factor for peace and stability in Asia and the World."

Issued by the Information Dept. of the USSR Consulate General in Calcutta.

SOLIDARITY DAY

On January 20, President Ronald Reagan proclaimed January 30 as Solidarity Day in protest against the "brutal wave of repression" that the military government of Poland has imposed upon its people. In his proclamation, the President said: "The hearts and minds of free people everywhere stand in solidarity with the people of Poland in the hour of their suffering."

Among the many events planned for the day are rallies by labor unions not only in the United States but in many other parts of the world as well. America's premier labor union, the AFL-CIO, will hold at least 14 rallies in the country. The International Confederation of Free Trade Unions is organizing similar demonstrations all over Europe. The German Labor Unions, with a membership of 7.9 million, has already designated January 30 as Solidarity Day. In addition there will be prayer meetings in churches, temples and mosques around the United States and in other countries.

To commemorate Solidarity Day, the U. S. International Communication Agency has produced a special one-hour television program, "Let Poland be Poland," which will

be beamed on January 31 via satellite to more than 300 million people in different parts of the world. An additional 100 million will hear the program via radio over the Voice of America in some 40 different languages, including Polish.

The theme of the television program, "Let Poland be Poland," is taken from a song by Polish writer Jan Pietrzak. The song, which will be sung by a school choir, expresses a yearning for freedom and has become an anthem for the Solidarity union and for many Poles.

Some of the leaders expected to be on the program, besides President Reagan, are British Prime Minister Thatcher, West German Chancellor Schmidt, Norwegian Prime Minister Willoch, Portuguese Prime Minister Balsemao, Australian Prime Minister Fraser, Canadian Prime Minister Trudeau and Luxembourg Foreign Minister Flesch.

Speaking to reporters, Charles Z. Wick, director of the U. S. International Communication Agency, expressed the hope that the worldwide reverberations from this program will produce added recognition of the plight of the Polish People "and hopefully some movement forward toward relief of their situation."

—SPAN (Feb 82)

EXCERPTS FROM "WHAT IS THE WORLD SAYING ABOUT POLAND?"

T. V. Parasuram in "The Indian Express" (India): "Because of their strategic location, the Poles have suffered through the centuries more than most people. They have been conquered by invading armies and partitioned

between other nations...Through it all they have retained an abiding faith in freedom, in God and in country....

"That the people who have now suppressed—or are trying to suppress—the spark of freedom are fellow Poles in the army only makes the tragedy for the Poles more poignant.

"One can only hope that the torch of Polish freedom will not be extinguished. At the heart of the Polish problem is the simple question: Are a people entitled to choose their own form of government and their rulers?"

POPE JOHN PAUL: "Violation of conscience is the saddest blow to human dignity, in a certain sense worse than inflicting physical death, than killing."

THE NEW YORK TIMES (U.S.A.):

"What is being crushed in Poland is genuine revolution—exuberant, spontaneous and far from settled in its ideology or program. Solidarity was undisciplined, as a protest has to be in a closed society. It was not, however, anarchistic or capitalistic or directly anti-Soviet.

"No Reaganite hard-liner advocates liberation of the "Captive nations." Western banks have lent Eastern Europe 70,000 million dollars—including 30,000 million dollars to Poland and pray each night for stability there. Moscow could not ask for better partners. And throughout the 16 months of ferment in Poland, not even the most extreme factions in Solidarity dreamed of evicting the Soviet army or breaking loose from the Wasaw Pact. The Poles accept the tyranny of geography.

"What they wanted was true democratic reform: to break the grip of an oligarchy that was enriching itself but mismanaging the nation. They wanted the right to monitor their government and to help make the rules for the austere years ahead. They wanted the right to strike and to speak freely, to give workers a voice in a workers' state."

NAIROBI STANDARD (KENYA):

"There is deep concern in the East over the Polish situation and the free world must also be gravely concerned over the plight of ordinary Polish citizens who have to face a severe winter in the midst of food and fuel shortages."

THE SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL (FRANCE):

"The Socialist International (SI) condemns the takeover by the military in Poland and the brutal suppression of civil rights which has followed it. The SI calls for the immediate release of all persons imprisoned and detained, for the free labor union, Solidarity, to be able to carry out its activities freely and for an end to repression and martial law.

"The Socialist International notes with insistence that the Polish people have the right to solve their problems without external interference. The SI reminds all States concerned that they are bound by the principle of noninterference as defined by the Helsinki Final Act."

YOMIURI (JAPAN): We do not want to see any infringements of fundamental human rights and freedom in Poland. Such infringements...would reverse the trend toward an East-West dialogue and detente as seen

in the theater nuclear weapons reduction talks between the two superpowers."

TADEUSZ KONWICKI, a novelist in Poland; "Where are the beautiful times of old-fashioned slavery? Where is the battle of the invader with the language of the oppressed, with their emblems of State; where are the open, ceremonial persecutions of patriots; where are the solemn executions of heroes? That slavery in retrospect was open, theatrical celebrational. And everyone knew who was coercing the weak and who would answer to the court of history for that coercion. Today slavery has become invisible.

"On the surface some poor nation behaves naturally, listens with reverence to its own anthem, elects a parliament, dispatches emissaries, sits on the Security Council; in a word acts like any independent sovereign state. And not one sees the revolver at its back, a cocked revolver belonging to its neighbour or to some other country. Previously a slave was entitled to cry out. Today the slave has been assured the right of silence, muteness. Crying out brought relief. Silence and muteness cause degeneration, they suffocate, they kill."

—SPAN (Feb, 82)

SOVIET CONSUMERS' COOPERATIVES

Soviet consumers' cooperatives unite 60 million villagers. Their main aim is to sell farm surplus in cities and to provide villagers with the industrial commodities they need. To become a member of a cooperative, a person is supposed to pay an entrance fee, ranging from 5 to 20 roubles. No other payments are made.

A cooperative uses the entrance fees of its members as circulating capital. Cooperatives extensively resort to bank credits, primarily to purchase industrial goods, from the state at state whole sale prices and sell them in their shops at state retail prices.

Every year a certain percentage of the profits is distributed equally between the share holders of a cooperative. Each member may have only one share. A general meeting of a cooperative decides what to do with profits. Part of them goes to return credits, and to build up its public consumption fund.

The public consumption fund finances the free education of cooperators in secondary and higher cooperative schools, the free upkeep of their children in cooperative creches and kindergartens, and the free rest and recreation of cooperators in holiday homes and sanatoria operated by cooperatives.

In January 1981 the USSR Council of Ministers passed new measures and assistance to stimulate the development of personal subsidiary plots. Through agreements guaranteeing collective farmers that cooperatives will purchase any quantities of produce that come from their subsidiary plots.

Cooperatives sell the products they buy either in natural form or as preserves, ready-to-cook foods, sausage, etc. They have canneries, bakeries, sausage-making shops, etc. Cooperatives have started building farms to fatten livestock for their public catering establishments. By selling by farm products in cities at prices below those which are charged at the market, cooperatives help control the level of market prices.

—Backgrounder

INTRODUCTION

FROM HAPPINESS AND FROM DREAMS is the first book of poetry written by the prominent Yugoslav writer, Marko Ristic who was born in 1902. At the time of its publication in 1925 it was in sharp opposition to traditional Yugoslav poetry, as it revealed entirely new and free poetical thoughts. Yugoslav avant garde poetry came into being approximately at that time, and Marko Ristic was the first amongst the forerunners who initiated the organization of the Surrealistic group in Belgrade in 1929. A close friend and collaborator of André Breton from the beginning of the French Surrealistic movement in Paris, he maintained this collaboration throughout the entire period of Belgrade Surrealistic activity upto 1932, when the Belgrade Surrealists joined the political movement led by the Yugoslav Communist Party. Apart from his deep involvement in poetical creation, Marko Ristic developed a penetrative literary criticism based on dialectical conflicts of creativity of the individual. He was able to point out in literary work even those hidden but vital elements which are relevant for those forces leading to a deeper humanization of objective reality. All his activity from poetry to literary criticism is oriented towards reaching the higher forms of the expression of human needs. He is still active in public life.

This is the first English translation of these poems. I have attempted to transfer the entire poetic atmosphere of Marko Ristic's early poetry into the English language as far as possible, taking into account the divergencies of these two languages,

"Translated from Serbo-Croat"

by

ALOKANANDA MITTER"

THE SWAN OR THE EARTHQUAKE IN JAPAN

Even facing death for all these days
I have only a bread-crust and glass of water
For those mighty slaves along with a look
Those flowers are enough for a dream and walk

In front of the earthquake as in front of a wall
The vertical sweep of sea of those long horrors
Birds and mariners with clear sight
Already search with palm how far reality lies

The thunder and tangled woods like trunks of truth
With leaves and lightning already intermingled
Are as if they were trembling : they know the breath and
that spirit of truth
For the past enshackled liberation is now

Memory will plummet with bodies of gold
Bitter honey will feed the joy of night
You craters of mine in false garments
To come and to go will be only to go

Whirlpools for land, and land for the seas
Cataclysm with the smile of life landscape
To spurn that which was and which must die
Even before the future is wiped out from the surface of life

PERMANENCE

The days that are waiting for us have already gone
And we are lost between eternity and eternity
From where in ourselves this courage of the moment
When no bitter hour bears witness to itself

Where is the day that disappears like smoke
Where is the smile of morning and the warm southern night
Astray in the fog without arms and bread
We carry in our hearts faith in a lasting dream

For love is spilled like that formless time
And we shall never know how far we have come on our way
The lakes of twilight, the clouds above the forests
In the dark violet light of secret

Welded in the mainstream of our life itself
That lasting with out time and loving without love
Are worn like the blue sky and the clouds of stars
The Milky Ways of song and silence behind us

Happiness would lead each blessing hand
The palm to lean on the justification of roadlessness
For courage will never replace that road
Along which spirit and blood stray without connection and
without direction



If the horror always in the depths uncovers itself
With painful and bitter glamour soaks duration
Not one day has the glass been overfilled
Without the clouds or stars have not been annulled in the night
That road, that road which had no end
With what roadlessness has it been cursed and with what riddle ?
Open, tear open the heart of the world : blood dark in the depths
Like a proud sobbing and undisturbed horror
Yet, where pours the red flame of hell
The hours of the blessed and untouched are breaking
The river was the soil flowing into the abyss of dream
To soothe along the mouth fatigue which is fruit and hunger
I long, and with darkness walk
I wait for the passing to choke this colourless day
It is enough for the dancing lights only
To cross in the returned hour for ever
Why are the years with veil and clairvoyance
Interwoven and disconsolately moved
The pain with which our current stands witness for its heaven
Fervently embraces the bunch of cheated minutes
I do not know why my look does not dive into that darkness
Nor with which new dawn I shall meet that wave
At the shore of whiteness the rainbow too has lain down
None of the seven colours knows my faithful dream

REPRINT

— The Modern Review for JUNE, 1910 —

PERSIA'S TROUBLES

A meeting was recently held in London to protest against the Russian attitude towards Persia. Dr. Syed Abdul Majid, L.L.D. Barrister-at-Law, took the chair. "The Punjabee" has thus summarised part of his speech :

The thing was begun by Peter as far back as 1722 by taking possession of Daghistān and Derbend. In 1796 Catherine widened her gullet a little more and gulped down Baku. In 1801 Alexander I, swallowed up Georgia and Shievan and in 1804 Kasbagh, Mingreli and Ganjeh. British officers in Persia began to grumble, but the Government at Home suddenly developed "friendly relation with Russia" and recalled its agents. By the Treaty of Turkomancha in 1829 the whole of the Caucasus passed into the capacious stomach of Russia. Her appetite was increasing, and in 1839 England helplessly saw her swoop down upon the island of Ashuradha and establish a naval base there. To the demands of evacuation evasive replies were given; but as soon as her grasp of the island was firm enough to look further ahead, she point blank refused to leave it. She had to look to the interest of Russian subjects at Gez and Astrabad. The reason given was considered satisfactory, and implicit faith was readily put in her solemn promise not to advance further. The echo of this

vehement protestation of good faith had scarcely died away when she occupied Karnovodsk and established military forts at Michaelodsk and Chikapur. This took place in 1869, and four years later the whole of the Caspian Shores passed on to her. Even after the boundary was settled at Atrok in 1881, she again took possession of Sarakhs without a moments' notice !

Since then Persia, with her eyes wide open, has made surprising progress in national solidarity, and England has cultivated her friendly relations with Russia to the point of an "understanding" by which Russia has bound herself to respect the independence of young Persia. But history, as was expected is repeating itself with a vengeance in the present instance. It is the old story over again, only this time Russia is in deadly earnest owing to her natural repugnance to popular liberty, of which the new Constitution is a sign and symbol, and which is inimical to the interests of Russia. And England is looking on as helplessly as ever. The present painful lot of Persia is vividly described by Mr. Majid :—

Russia has always been hostile to the national movement. A glance at the Blue Book will show that she has acted considerably against it. She has occupied Tabriz and marched troops into Kazin and other

parts of Azerbaijan. In July 2000 troops were sent to Kazin. She states two reasons : (1) that the lives of Europeans are in danger ; (2) that the road between Resht and Teheran must be kept clear. These grounds are simply baseless and are mere pretexts. Not a single European life was in danger nor a single trader robbed on the road in question. Not one instance can be cited, although this constitutional Government has been in existence for 2½ years. Russia has repeatedly promised evacuation but never fulfilled her promises. There are troops now in Tabriz, Kasvin, Resht, Ardebil and along the roads to the Caspian. The Russians are carrying on intrigues all over the country and fomenting rebellion. The notorious brigand (the Hill Dog), Rahim Khan, has been influenced by them, and they desired to remove an Armenian who is very clever because he helps the people in their struggle against Russian intrigues. There are clear evidences against them where they have endeavoured to check the movement. To-day the whole of Persia is in a state of mourning. *Not a single face you will find there which is not sorrowful because of the danger to their independence. It is impossible not to sympathise with them.*

The italics are ours. The following two Resolutions were then unanimously passed :—

“(1) That we, the most loyal subjects of His Imperial Majesty, regard with grave apprehension the Russian occupation of Tabriz, Kazvin and other parts of Persia, and consider it as a wrong to Persia and a menace to India ; view the Russian promises of evacuation with sincere mistrust, and beg leave to urge upon His Majesty's Government the necessity of taking immediate steps to ensure a speedy withdrawal of Russian forces from Persia

and of maintaining the integrity of Persia as guaranteed by the Anglo-Russian Convention of 1907.

(2) That we heartily sympathise with the Persian in their great national distress occasioned by the Russian occupation of their country in defiance of the fundamental principles of International Law ; assure them of our indignation on that account ; pray that this painful situation may soon be terminated in a manner most satisfactory to Persia ; and impress upon them the importance of appealing to the British public in order to secure its sympathy and support.”

That Dr. Majid has given a true picture of the situation and that his appeal to England is not unreasonable will appear from an article from the *Manchester Guardian* which we make no apology for printing in full below :—

It was stated the other day that the Russian Government is about to increase the garrison at Tabriz and the reason given was that the Russian community there may be in danger from the armed followers of Satar Khan. There is no more evidence of danger to the Russians of Tabriz from Satar Khan than there was to the women and children of Johannesburg before the Raid. Every nation is entitled in great emergency to take what measures it thinks fit to protect the lives of its subjects, but international law and morality impose two conditions on such action. One is that there should be solid evidence of imminent danger that can be averted by no other means than immediate armed intervention ; the other is that the Power that intervenes should assume complete responsibility for its supersession of the actual Government.

The non-fulfilment of either condition is fatal to the validity of the intervention, because there is otherwise no security at law for the independence of any country. A door must be open or shut; and a Power which relieves a Government of its first duty of maintaining order becomes itself responsible. Neither of these conditions is fulfilled in this case. There is no evidence of danger, for if there is one fact more remarkable than another in the political awakening of Islam is that it has not cost a single Christian life or jeopardised a single Christian interest. This is true no less of Persia than of Turkey, and the safety of Europeans through the most amazing revolutions of our times has been due not to the presence of armed protection but to its absence. The revolution had already been accomplished in Persia before a single Russian soldier was in the country. This guarantee of safety Russia has weakened by the introduction of her troops, and now proposes to weaken still further. Nothing is so likely to lead to the hostile demonstrations that are feared as the feeling that the foreigners in the country are the advance guard of a Power that is plotting against its independence. Nor does Russia accept the second condition of assuming the responsibility for her intervention. She pretends to respect the independence of Persia while at the same times she usurps the first duty of an independent Government. She creates disorder and weakens the Government by introducing troops, and makes that disorder and weakness an excuse for introducing yet more. That is grossly unfair to all parties—to this country and to other states no less than to the Russian Government itself. It is more than unfair and is an actual infringement of our treaty rights. Russia is bound under the Convention with England to respect the independence of Persia. She is

in fact, violating it in its most vital provisions. Evacuation is the policy demanded by the Terms of the Anglo-Russian Convention, because every other is inconsistent with its first avowed object—namely, the independence of Persia.

There is some reason to fear that our Government by its policy in Persia is endangering most important British interests. To some it may seem a merely sentimental argument that England is still revered abroad as the mother of Parliamentary institutions, and that for her to show any lack of sympathy with the aspirations of Islam to freedom would be to squander our slowly accumulated political capital in the East. Sentiment is still the greatest force in politics, and it is wholly on the side of the Persian Government in this struggle. But the case against Russian action in Persia does not rest on sentiment alone. England is the greatest Mahometan power in the world and in India rules more Mahometan subjects than the Sultan of Turkey. It is not an accident that a liberal and Nationalist movement should arise almost simultaneously in the three Mahometan countries—Turkey, Egypt and Persia; Islam is at least as united in fashions of thought as Christendom. We cannot suppress a Nationalist movement in Egypt and at the same time be the friends of a similar movement in Turkey. We cannot offend Mahometan sentiment in Persia and retain our hold on it in India. Persia, for all its weakness, is the centre of Mahometanism in a sense in which Turkey can never be. Its language is the French of Islam; its geographical position makes it the centre of the long belt of Mahometan countries that stretch from the borders of China to the Atlantic. The destruction of Persian independence would sunder the Mahometan world into two halves;

and its destruction under circumstances that made England the accomplice of Russia would seriously weaken our reputation amongst the Indian Mahometans, who have hitherto been almost fanatically loyal. If the word prestige stands for anything tangible in the East, ours is bound up with our success in maintaining the independence of Persia which was the avowed object of the Anglo-Russian Convention. Further, an independent Persia is no less necessary to the military defence of the Indian frontier than a strong and independent Afghanistan. The vulnerable point of the Indian frontier is not in Chitral or the Khyber or the Kurram or in any of the passes reached through Afghanistan but in Baluchistan and Quetta, and a Russian Persia would outflank our Indian defences on their weakest side. Most assuredly we do not want to revive in Persia the Russian bogey that led us into such mischief further north. It is because we want to be on friendly terms with Russia, because we desire to avoid a forward policy that we would have our Government act, in the spirit of friendship, on the Convention in its integrity and not in anger over its ruin.

The one essential then, of our policy is that it should insist on the preservation of Persian independence—in other words, on the observance of the Convention that we have made with Russia. The presence of Russian troops in Persia is inconsistent with the Convention and we should be justified in making the most vigorous protests against their retention. If a liberal Government does not get Russian troops out of the North of

Persia we may depend upon it that a Conservative Government will some day try to get Indian troops into the South, and there be few objects of liberal policy abroad more vital than this insurance of India against a new forward policy. Further, the conditions of any loan made to Persia should also be consistent with the Convention. No authoritative version of the terms of the Anglo-Russian loan has yet been published in England, but if the Russian versions are at all founded they are no less menacing to the independence of Persia than the military occupation of Persian towns in the North. It is true that Persia is desperately hard up for money but on the whole we are inclined to think that she had better decline the loan than accept it, on the terms that have been reported, from Russia. She is bound at present by an agreement not to contract loans with any other Power than Russia, or she might obtain a loan in the open market. But in 1912 this agreement will expire, and she will be free to borrow wherever she will. But we believe this country can rescue Persia both from the present starvation of its Treasury, and from the political ruin of a loan on the suggested terms. Nothing more is necessary than a clear determination to uphold the independence of Persia in accordance with the terms of the Convention. There is ample financial security in Persia for a loan of half a million and Persia could probably, but for the agreement with Russia made by the late Shah, have obtained it from other sources. To join in asking for more than financial security would be to become accessory to a species of political blackmail on Persia's misfortunes.

Indian and Foreign Periodicals

AN IMPERIAL INITIATE

The Roman Emperor Flavius Claudius Julianus, who lived between 331 and 363, is popularly known as Julian the Apostate. Born in Constantinople, he was a nephew of Constantine the Great and was brought up in the Christian religion. But from boyhood he felt a strong attraction for pagan philosophy and at the age of twenty-four he became an Initiate of the Mithraic Mysteries. The then reigning emperor, Constantius, charged him with the defence of Gaul against the threatened invasion of German tribes and in this Julian showed great military skill and administrative ability. During these activities he resided in Paris which at that time was called Lutetia. It was there that he was proclaimed emperor by his soldiers.

After the death of Constantius he became the sole ruler of the Roman Empire. During his too short reign he tried to restore the power and prestige of the ancient Greek religion on a philosophical basis. He undertook a war against Persia but, unhappily, Julian, who was ever in the front of the battle, was mortally wounded. This happened in 363 after a reign of less than two years.

There are several comments and allusions in H. P. Blavatsky's writings concerning the pathetic life of the young hero. 'Julian,' she says, was 'called apostate because he would not become one.'.....The term 'apostate' is

applied to one who deserts his religion ; but Julian was a faithful follower of a system of thought much higher than the creeds of the uncultured populace who acknowledged the rule of the Church. His aversion to the Christian religion was, to a great part, justified by the low state of morality of its devotees and particularly by the cruelty of his uncle, Constantine the Great, who had adopted Christianity as the official religion of the Roman empire, while his private life was stained with the murder of members of his closest family and other crimes.

According to *The Secret Doctrine*, Julian was an ardent student of Neoplatonic philosophy (V, 307). 'He was called the Apostate because, believing in the grand ideals of his forefathers, the Initiates, he would not accept the human anthropomorphic form, worshipped by the followers of the popular creed (*Collected Writings*, XI, 47). '...the Emperor Julian—called Apostate, because he loved truth too well to accept aught else' (*The Secret Doctrine*, V, 28),

And others followed his example : 'Every new convert who had permitted himself to be entrapped, but who had retained his dignity and a grain of good sense, returned, like the Emperor Julian, to his old gods' (*Collected Writings*, IX, 394). 'Servile history called him Apostate to please the Church and added to the names (of the ferocious potentates who came after him) some high-sounding epithets:

the "Great", the "Saint", the "Beautiful" (*Collected Writings*, XII, 101).

H. P. B. says of Julian that he was gentle, good and kind. Referring to his government in Gaul, she mentions approvingly the simplicity of his New Year's dinner in company with his soldiers, in contrast to modern celebrations when 'whole hecatombs of quadrupeds and fowls are slaughtered in honour of this day' (*Collected Writings*, XII, 101).

Mithraic Initiate

Julian belonged to the order of the Mithraic Mysteries, an esoteric institution of Persian origin. The cult of Mithra was widespread throughout the Roman Empire during the first centuries of our era. Being the chief rival and opponent of Christianity, this religious movement was persecuted by the fanatical Christians until its extinction. The central figure of the Mysteries was the Solar Deity, and Julian, by his initiation into the secret rites, became 'the son of Mithra' (*Isis Unveiled*, II, 566). '...the Emperor Julian prayed to the Occult Sun every night' (*The Secret Doctrine*, III, 41). 'The last of the Solar Priests in Europe was the Imperial Initiate, Julian, now called the Apostate. He tried to benefit the world by revealing at least a portion of the great mystery of the Three-fold and—he died' (*The Secret Doctrine*, V, 218).

And H. P. B. adds in a footnote:

Julian died for the same crime as Socrates. Both divulged a portion of the solar mystery, the heliocentric system being only a part of what was given during Initiation—one consciously, the other unconsciously, the Greek Sage never having been initiated. ...Socrates was sentenced to death by earthly and worldly judges; Julian died a violent death because the hitherto protecting hand was withdrawn

from him, and, no longer shielded by it, he was simply left to his destiny or Karma. For the student of Occultism there is a suggestive difference between the two kinds of death. Another memorable instance of the unconscious divulging of secrets pertaining to mysteries is that of the poet P. Ovidius Naso, who, like Socrates, had not been initiated. In his case, the Emperor Augustus, who was an Initiate, mercifully changed the penalty of death into banishment to Tomos on the Euxine.

Exiled from Rome to the shores of the Black Sea, Ovid in his despair could never understand what had been his offence. But Julian was a real Initiate of the Mysteries and of their lofty philosophy. His purpose was to restore the true esoteric background of religion, but the men of his time were not ready for the message of truth; nor, indeed, are they in our own day.

In his *Shadow of the Third Century—A Revaluation of Christianity*, Alvin Boyd Kuhn² defends Julian's noble character and denounces 'the eternal attitude of reproach and contumely that the Christian Church has heaped endlessly upon the Roman Emperor Julian, upon whose head the Christian hostility has branded the stigma of enmity to the faith of Christ by fastening upon him the epithet of "the Apostate".'

'A few writers,' he continues, 'have taken a fair attitude towards this man, but on the whole the Church has not lifted a finger to correct the misjudgement respecting this courageous and high-minded and gifted ruler of Rome.'

Julian met with an untimely death by 'an arrow shot into his chest no doubt by a Christian bigot while he was leading the Roman army heroically in battle and which

put an end to the young Emperor's magnificent efforts to lift the Roman government out of political corruption by means of far-reaching and statesman-like reforms by which he had already in the less than two years of his short reign made fine progress. Here would have been the world's supreme chance to try Plato's doctrine that the state should be ruled by philosophers. For Julian was a profound student and a genuine lover of the great Greek esoteric wisdom. ...His death should be sincerely mourned as indeed one of the most fatal losses in all history. ...No one can say how well this noble effort would have succeeded if he could have held the Emperor's sceptre for the seventy years of a normal life.'

The words reported to have been uttered on his deathbed—'thou hast conquered, O Galilean!'—have never been authenticated. If he did indeed so cry out, it must have been in despair over the frustration of all his aims. In the words of Kuhn, 'Few champions of humanity in the line of history would have passed out so overwhelmed with the realization that their passing spelled infinite calamity to the world. He must have suffered the keenest anguish of regret that his end had come so prematurely. ...For true Christianity Julian's death was an infinite tragedy.'

1. The Secret Doctrine, Adyar ed., V, 334.
2. Shadow of the Third Century—A Revaluation of Christianity by Alvin Boyd Kuhn, Academy Press, Elizabeth 2, N. J. (U.S. A.) 1949.

—The Theosophist

GUIDELINES SET TO REDUCE THE HUMAN PRICE FOR OFFSHORE OIL

The offshore oil industry is caught up in its biggest construction boom yet. Unlike the growth of the mid-1970s which was

confined primarily to North Sea drilling, the present expansion is worldwide.

A recent global count of the new rig fleet shows 190 units in various stages of construction. While in 1979 the offshore industry represented 30 per cent of the world's total petroleum production, it is predicted that this will increase by some 10 per cent over the next four years.

Moreover, the search for oil is spreading to areas once written off as too remote or unpromising to explore. Platform construction is being attempted in ever more hostile environments— in polar regions and in water considered until recently to be impenetrably deep.

HAZARDS

It is difficult to determine the exact number of offshore workers ; most sources place the figure at between 350,000 and 400,000.

Yet the hazards they have to face are fairly well known : adverse weather conditions, dangers when boarding one vessel from another, drilling mishaps, fire or explosion, exposure to X-ray, noise and toxic chemicals.

According to the British Medical Association, offshore platform fatalities are ten times greater than those in coal mining, which ranks among the most hazardous occupations.

Estimates show that the industry claims between 250 and 700 lives annually and there are innumerable minor accidents. As one hardened veteran put it, "among the old-timers in the business, fingers are as rare as hen's teeth."

Constant efforts are being made to stiffen company and national safety rules for the

offshore industry. Unfortunately these vary from country to country, strengthening the conviction of ILO experts that international guidance is both necessary and pressing, especially on safety and health precautions that can be taken during the construction phase of fixed installations.

The upshot of this concern is a new code of practice* designed to help governments and companies improve their own regulations and practices in consultation with workers.

The code marks the culmination of four years' discussions of the issue within the ILO. The Norwegian government has been instrumental in its promotion and funded an ILO meeting of specialists who finalised the code.

JOINT RESPONSIBILITY

The role of employers and workers in reducing and controlling the hazards of offshore operations is crucial, according to the ILO code.

It calls on employers to provide machinery and equipment for oil rigs which comply with national safety laws and regulations.

No less essential is the choice of personnel who should be suited by their "physique, state of health, skill and ability to communicate" to jobs for which they are hired. The code stresses the need for proper training and retraining taking into account the special potential risks associated with working offshore.

One key recommendation is that the owner or main contractor of a rig may be required to appoint a full-time safety and health supervisor, where circumstances suggest the need. A safety committee should also be set up in any project where the conditions warrant it.

Workers should co-operate in safety and health work on offshore platforms. They ought to examine their workplaces and equipment and report forthwith any dangerous defects they may discover. Such equipment should not be used until it has been repaired.

To protect themselves and their workmates, workers should "make proper use of all safeguards, safety devices, protective equipment and other appliances."

Other recommendations range from precautions relating to the safe construction and use of scaffolding, ladders, lifting gear, welding and flame cutting equipment, to protection against falling objects, excessive contact voltage, noise and vibration.

TOXIC SUBSTANCES

The code upholds a basic principle anchored in ILO conventions and recommendations that the hazard of toxic substances or dangerous agents should be prevented or controlled at the source. These include dusts, fumes, gases and vapours in general and asbestos and ionising radiations in particular.

Since it is not always possible to replace certain of the toxic substances by non-hazardous ones, the code specifies a number of measures that should be taken to minimise their potential harmful effects.

In this respect, personal protective gear, changing and washing facilities as well as respiratory equipment are a must, according to the code.

MEDICAL CHECK-UPS

The code reaffirms another basic principle the acceptance of which the ILO has urged for many years, namely that of medical

examinations before, during and after employment.

All workers handling asbestos, for instance, should undergo a medical check-up at least once a year, while for persons exposed to radiation hazards every six months would be preferable.

Annual audiometric examinations should also be carried out on workers whose hearing risks impairment from high noise levels.

These check-ups should be cost-free to workers.

As the collapse of the Alexander Kielland mobile accommodation rig in the North Sea in 1980 demonstrated, no offshore installation is fail-safe. Therefore, printed instructions should be issued to each person on a rig indicating the action he should take in case of an emergency.

EMERGENCY DRILLS

All personnel should take part in drills to learn their particular duties, especially as regards fire-fighting, explosion, escape of gas, helping a workmate in distress and abandonment of the installation,

Such drills should be carried out at least once every 12 days. The code also lays down rules for the work of rescue teams and first-aid personnel, as well as for the use of pick-up boats, standby vessels and helicopters.

The code has no binding force, and is not intended to supersede national laws or accepted standards. But the ILO hopes that the code will ultimately help harmonise national approaches to safety and health problems in the industry, so that oil rig

workers could enjoy the same standard protection everywhere.

*Code of practice on safety and health in the construction of fixed offshore drilling installations in the petroleum industry, ILO, Geneva, 1981.

—I. L. O.

USSR : CARE FOR THE ELDERLY

The Soviet Constitution has confirmed the right of every citizen of the USSR to maintenance in old age, which is formulated in Article 43 and guaranteed by the provision by the state or collective farms of retirement pensions and care for the elderly and disabled in boarding houses for the aged and invalids, and other forms of social security.

In this country all working people can exercise their right to old-age retirement pensions on reaching the pension age if they meet the work quota determined by the state.

The pension age is 60 years for men and 55 for women, established in the USSR in 1928 ;

Certain categories of working people here, including those engaged in the mining, chemical and metallurgical industries, in transport, at timber-felling and construction sites and the textile mills, go on a pension 5 or even 10 years earlier : men when they are 50-55 and women—45-50. The advantage of retiring five years earlier than the others is also granted to mothers with large families who have brought up five or more children up to the age of 8 ; war veterans ; those who worked a long while in the Extreme North and female machine-operators.

Equally accessible to the citizens of the Soviet Union is a work record which amounts to 25 years for men and 20 years for women.

Included in the work record necessary for receiving pensions is, apart from work term itself, the time of military service, training at vocational and technical schools and studies at higher and specialised secondary educational establishments if preceded by work in industry or office.

Former collective farmers also enjoy the right to old-age pensions if they have the required record of work on collective farms or at state-owned establishments, in offices or mass organisations.

For the citizens of pension age, lacking the necessary work record by one or another reason, pensions are granted if certain legal conditions apply.

The unswerving growth and consolidation of the socialist economy in this country stimulates higher wages, salaries and collective farmers' incomes, which raises pensions as they are determined by wages.

Over the previous five years old-age pensions in the Russian Federation grew by 14.3 per cent for industrial and office workers and by 39.9 per cent for collective farmers.

Old age pensions amount to 50-100 per cent of the wages received before going on pension, with the percentage growing for lower-paid citizens

Old-age pensioners continuing to work as industrial workers, junior personnel in the services, foremen as well as teamleaders in plant-growing and cattle-breeding at state agricultural establishments may, if they choose, not take pensions home, but get an increment to their future pensions.

Pensioners have broad opportunities for working part-time (with a proportional payment) and at home.

Social maintenance for the elderly is not limited to granting them pensions. The state also fully provides for lonely people in need of constant care who are unable for some reason to live with their families.

At homes for the elderly where such people are placed at their own request, they are fully supported materially and have access to medical and cultural services.

Moreover, measures are taken to bring such people back into an active life. All the processes of labour therapeutics organised at pensioners' houses pursue this goal.

The wide socio-economic programme for 1981-1985 and for the period ending in 1990, adopted by the 26th Congress of the CPSU provides for further improvement of all forms of social maintenance in old age above all, the social security system.

It is planned, in part, to raise the minimum old-age and disability pensions for factory and office workers and collective farmers and pensions due to the loss of the breadwinner, to provide for the further equalization of social security conditions for collective farmers and workers of state-owned enterprises; to bring the size of the previously awarded pensions progressively closer to that of the pensions awarded to workers of similar trades and qualifications at the present time.

—Backgrounder

NEW SOVIET STIMULUS TO DISARMAMENT

Having proposed unilaterally to freeze the deployment of its medium-range nuclear weapons in the European part of the USSR, and having expressed readiness to assume a mutual obligation with the United States not to begin deployment of new kinds of strategic weapons, such as long-range cruise missiles launched from the sea and the ground, the Soviet Union has again signalled impressively and clearly its readiness to cooperate in the solution of pressing tasks of containing the arms race.

These initiatives, addressed in the first place to the USA, were formulated by Leonid Brezhnev in his speech in the Kremlin at the Congress of the Soviet Trade Unions. The Soviet leader called for maximum restraint on the part of the two opposing blocs in their military activities. He proposed, in particular, that the action of navies be restricted and missile submarines of both sides be withdrawn from the present extensive areas of combat patrolling.

SOVIET DESIRE

The new set of Soviet proposals clearly expresses the desire of the Soviet side to create most favourable conditions for talks on the limitation of armaments at all levels. At the same time, this well-thought-out and concretely formulated initiative also has the accompanying wider aim—to take the edge off the international situation and to put forward factors of cooperation, not of confrontation.

The Soviet Union is suspending the replacement of obsolete SS-4 and SS-5 missiles with new SS-20 ones. Earlier, Moscow proposed to Washington that for the time of

Geneva talks they should establish a mutual moratorium on the deployment of medium-range nuclear systems targeted on Europe. Everybody knows also of the USSR's package proposals for a stage-by-stage radical reduction of these systems on both sides right up to the genuine 'zero option, that is, the level when there remain in Europe neither medium-range nuclear weapons nor tactical weapons. The American side has not yet found resources of good will and realism to take positive steps towards that proposal.

NEED OF TIME

Where ultimatums are useless, common sense and constructive intentions are needed. The Soviet Union says "stop". If this signal is reciprocated by the other side, then it could be possible to push the stopped train of the arms race back, to the station of dismantling and disarmament.

The arrow of American policy still points to the planned deployment in Western Europe of missiles of the new generation—Pershing-2 and Cruise missiles. Yet the USSR is ready this year to reduce unilaterally a certain number of its medium-range missiles.

Moscow's signals and real steps made in "advance" face the other side with the need to make its choice once again before the whole world.

Moscow has warned again. If the US Government and US allies in NATO, defying the will of the peoples for peace, nevertheless, carry out their plan for deploying hundreds of new American missiles in Europe capable of hitting targets on Soviet territory, a different strategic situation would emerge in the world. That would force the USSR to take such retaliatory steps as would place the other side, including the United States directly, and its

territory in a similar position. This must not be forgotten.

CAUSE OF DIFFICULTIES

The difficulties undermining the disarmament process have been largely due to the USA's blocking of the SALT-2 Treaty and of the entire drive for limiting strategic armaments. This is why Leonid Brezhnev's mention of the need to remove the American obstacles on this way sounds so topical.

The validity of Leonid Brezhnev's proposals has been confirmed by sober voices from the American side itself. A while ago Edward Kennedy, other Senators as well as one-third of the House of Representatives (the US Congress) advanced a draft resolution suggesting that both sides should freeze their military arsenals.

Moscow's positive counter-programme forms a striking contrast to Washington's lack of response. With Moscow's constructive approach, Reagan's hasty rejection of Kennedy's initiative looks puzzling. What prospect then can the Reagan administration picture for mankind? As for the Soviet Union, "It," as Leonid Brezhnev has put it, "sees the future not in the context of any unrestricted stockpiling of mountains of weapons but in the context of reaching sensible accords with the other side on a mutual lowering of the level of military confrontation."

Issued by the Information Dept. of the
USSR Consulate General in Calcutta

A WORLD STRATEGY FOR GROWTH

(Excerpts from U. S. Secretary of State Alexander Haig's speech to the U. N. General Assembly).

I would like to focus on an issue of

compelling interest: international development. International development reflects the world wide search for economic progress, social justice and human dignity. And although great progress has been made, we face today a crucial choice of strategy that will dramatically affect the prospects for future success.

The pattern of increasing economic growth, critical for development, has been slowed by inflation, high energy prices, severe balance of payments problems, heavy debt and the slower growth of markets. Political turmoil and instability have diverted precious resources into arms and conflict. The necessary synthesis between traditional values and modernization, has grown more difficult under the impact of accelerating change.

...We must choose today between two futures: a future of sustainable growth, an expansion of world trade and a reduction of poverty—or a future of economic stagnation, rising protectionism and the spread of poverty.

Clearly, our task is to give fresh impetus to development by devising now a new strategy for growth.

The poorest developing countries require long-term and generous concessional aid from developed and other developing countries to raise productivity through broadly based education and training, improvements in health and nutrition and better infrastructure. They also need sound economic policies, particularly in the agricultural sector. Ultimately, the objective must be to involve them in the international economic system, thereby strengthening opportunities and incentives for self-sustaining growth.

The middle tier of developing countries have made significant progress. Nevertheless, they still suffer from widespread poverty. They are also acutely vulnerable to any economic downturn—especially volatile commodity markets—because of their narrow range of exports. These countries need foreign capital and assistance in developing the experience and credit-worthiness to borrow on international capital markets. Technical support and manpower training are important to ensure that their populations are productive and competitive. They also need an open international trading system to encourage export development.

The progress of the more advanced of the developing countries can be sustained best by a strong international economy with an open capital and trading system. These countries also play a key role in helping poorer nations, both directly and as policy models.

The capital surplus oil exporting countries need a stable and prosperous international market for their oil exports, and a favourable environment in which to invest their financial assets and to develop their domestic economies.

Finally, the industrial countries are suffering from low rates of growth and high rates of inflation...They must sell more abroad to pay for the increased cost of imported energy.

In a slowly growing world, these complex and diverse requirements would become potent sources of conflict. But...the international economy can help all countries to achieve their objectives, through a strategy of growth which

creates the resources and the employment needed for progress.

It is on this view of a differentiated and interdependent world that we must build a new strategy for growth.

First, development is facilitated by an open international trading system. Developed and developing countries together face the challenge of strengthening the GATT (the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade) and of the international trading system to create mutual export opportunities for all.

To-day the trading system is under enormous stress—rising protectionist pressures, new and subtle types of import barriers, restrictive bilateral arrangements, export subsidies and investment policies which distort trade.

...For its part, the United States has long supported open markets. Despite current complications, America remains a strong advocate of free trade.....we call upon all members of the international community to join in resisting growth in protectionism.

A dynamic and successful trading system requires a smoothly functioning international financial system. We must therefore continue to work with other countries to encourage their support for the International Monetary Fund and their constructive participation in the fund's programs to facilitate adjustment.

Second, foreign assistance coupled with sound domestic policy and self-help can facilitate the development process....Over the last three decades the United States has given more than \$1,30,000 million in concessional assistance.

The United States has also been the major force in the creation and support of the multilateral development banks. The banks, loans for key projects are important catalysts for productive domestic and foreign private investment.

Third, regional cooperation and bilateral consultations can be effective in promoting development. We are already committed to a close working relationship with ASEAN,

Fourth, growth for development is best achieved through reliance on incentives for individual economic performance. The greatest potential for development lies in the hard work and ingenuity of the farmer, the worker and the entrepreneur. They need incentives to produce and the opportunity to benefit from their labors.

Fifth, development requires a certain measure of security and political stability. Political insecurity is a major barrier to development. We are committed to maintain and, where possible, to increase programs essential to deter international aggression and to provide the domestic security necessary, to carry out sound economic policies. The United States also believes that efforts to control arms by either regional states or by the superpowers can make an important contribution to the security that facilitates development. But these efforts do not occur in a vacuum. The international community has tended over the years to overestimate the beneficial effects of the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks in dampening regional conflict. We have also tended to underestimate the impact of such conflict on the negotiations themselves.

The United States is strongly committed to balanced and verifiable arms control.

We are equally committed to the peaceful resolution of regional disputes.

The United States is confident that a strategy for growth guided by these principles can succeed. We believe that three areas of action deserve immediate international attention.

First, a global expansion of trade. A major priority should be to integrate more fully the developing countries into the international trading system on the basis of shared responsibilities and benefits.

Second, an increase in investment. Our common objective should be to stimulate domestic and international private investment.

Third, stronger international cooperation in food and in energy....The United States continues to be the largest donor of food aid and places a paramount emphasis on its bilateral program to help developing countries increase food production....

I have outlined to-day the broad principles that guide America's approach to new strategy for growth. These principles reflect our view that the United States can and will continue to make an essential contribution to the process of development.

—Span

INDIAN PARLIAMENT AND THE PRESIDENT.

DISSOLUTION OF THE LOK SABHA.

The Constitution empowers the President to dissolve the Lok Sabha. The Lok Sabha is elected for a term of five years and "the expiration of the said period of five years shall operate as a dissolution of the House." The implication is that the President may dissolve the House anytime before the completion of its term. The constitutional requirement, whereby the President must act in accordance with the advice of the Council of ministers and not otherwise, inserted by the Forty-Second Amendment, has however not been able to silence the two questions which the power of dissolution has raised in parliamentary democracies everywhere. These are :

1. Can the President refuse dissolution when asked for by the Prime Minister ?
2. Can the President dissolve the House, acting in his discretion, without or even against the advice of the Prime minister ?

On two occasions, first in 1970 the Lok Sabha was dissolved by the President, before its normal term on the advice of the Prime Minister, but the Second time, amidst a storm of bitter controversy. In July 1979, when Morarji Desai resigned as Prime Minister, he did not advise dissolution though it is reasonable to assume that had Desai asked for it there was no alternative for the President but to grant it.

The position, however, was not so clear or free from doubt, when his successor Charan Singh asked for it in August 1979, for the following reasons :

(a) Charan Singh's appointment as Prime

Minister was conditional upon his obtaining the approval of the Lok Sabha, a condition which he failed to satisfy, and therefore, his advice was not binding on the President.

(b) Charan Singh was a minority Prime Minister, riding into seat of power by toppling a duly constituted government ; it had no direct mandate from the people, nor an Indirect one from their representatives. He had, therefore, no right to deny to others what he had claimed and obtained for himself.

(c) Once the government elected by the people is overthrown as a result of defections and desertions from the ruling party, that government has the right to appeal to the people, but if it refrains from doing so, the question when the exploration of possibility of forming an alternative government will terminate, can rest with no one but the President. A set of political opportunists, given a chance to form a government and failing to do so, cannot claim to foreclose the Presidential option of giving a similar opportunity to others, and if they arrogate to themselves the right to do so, it is equally within the President's authority to disregard their advice.

The Supporters of Charan Singh, notably the Law Minister in his Cabinet, Mr. S.N. Kacker, argued that the advice of the Council of Ministers, even one which had not met the Lok Sabha even once, was binding on the President. This was, he argued, the requirement of Article 84 as amended by the 42nd and 44th Amendments.

This is a dangerous doctrine, as it would mean that the President whenever he was in need of a particular "advice" needed only to dismiss his Prime Minister and install a new one of his personal coterie and obtain

the advice of his liking, and thus perpetuate his personal rule for six months if not more.

The fact is that the government headed by Charan Singh had no popular mandate, direct or indirect, and as such by advising dissolution it could not foreclose other possible arrangements within the framework of the existing Lok Sabha, of which the President must be deemed to be the sole judge. In fact, later on, speaking at a public function the President disclosed that his decision to dissolve the Lok Sabha on August 22, was based on his conscience and not on the advice of the outgoing Prime Minister. 9

In the events described above, we have possibly the answers to the two questions raised earlier and, as would be agreed, the answers are not unequivocal and are related to the status of the advising Prime Minister. Broadly, we may formulate the following three laws as guide to dissolution :—

Firstly, if the Prime Minister is one appointed to the office on the strength of a direct popular mandate, his right to advise dissolution is unquestioned even if defections and desertions from his party have reduced him to minority (Indira Gandhi, 1969, Morarji Desai, 1979.)

Secondly, if the Prime Minister is one heading a coalition or united front or Samyukta Dal of parties formed, after the election, for the purpose of forming the Government, such a Prime Minister has no right to advise dissolution and his advice is not binding on the President.

Thirdly, if however the coalition or alliance had been forged during and for the purpose of election, the authority and Status of the resulting government would be no different from that of a single party majority government.

Therefore the only occasion for the President to exercise his discretion in the matter of dissolution would be in relation to a Prime Minister who has been installed in office on the strength of a post-election coalition of parties as was the case with Charan Singh. The advice of such a Prime Minister in respect of dissolution is not binding on the President; if such a Prime Minister loses majority or fails to obtain majority, the President becomes the master of the situation, free to decide whether he should try another alternative government or order dissolution.

8. Art. 83 (2)

9. The President while on a visit to the Tirupati temple in September 1979 said that the recent decisions he had taken at the Centre were based on his conscience and prayed to Lord Venkateswara to give him the strength and courage to stand by his own actions. The President was inaugurating the silver jubilee celebrations of the Sri Venkateswara University. *Northern India Patrika*, Allahabad, 3 September 1979.

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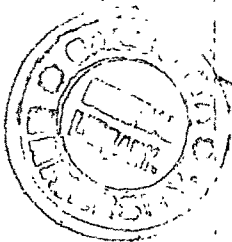
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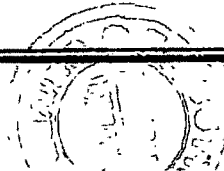
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NOTES

EMPLOYMENT POLICY

In spite of the various five-year plans undertaken by our Government since Independence, the number of unemployed people does not appear to be decreasing. Infact one may say that statistics indicate that the numbers are growing with the years and employment exchanges show that approximately 17.8 million jobs seekers had registered their names for employment till last year. The reasons for this state of affairs puzzles everyone most of all the jobless, but attempts to understand the employment policy of our economy are generally futile.

It is a fact that the Public Sector controls most of the major Industries in India eg steel and coal. They are thus the largest potential employers in the country and those who are unemployed usually look for jobs in these Sectors. However, relatively few find jobs here as few opportunities appear to exist and the numbers absorbed in this sector during the 5 years following 1976 are as low as a little over two million only approximately.

Perhaps one of the main reasons for lack of job opportunities in the public sector is the fact that this sector has taken over a large

number of sick industries where there is Surplus labour. These also represent about 50% of the present employment figures in the public Sector, Unfortunately therefore Government's heavy investment in these industries show very poor returns job wise.

Generally speaking therefore a radical change is necessary in the over-all employment policy of the Government. It is not possible to accept any longer the assumption that apart from rural employment (for which the necessity of a policy has always been recognised) no special employment policy is necessary since it has been assumed that non-rural employment will grow with the GNP. Economists are of the opinion that this has not proved to be the case over a period of 25 years or more, and consequently it is time that the employment policy of our economy be spelt out clearly and concretely.

Of course we have some special problems in connection with unemployment. Several years ago, R. A. Butler an eminent British politician, described the unemployed of India as the "graduate unemployed". Indeed half the registered unemployed are educated. For instance in a limited area eg technically

qualified personnel like science and engineering graduates have very few employment opportunities. It seems that not many viable programmes exist for creating job opportunities for the educated; nor are there sufficient jobs for those skilled in some vocation. Generally speaking one may conclude therefore that not as much thought as is necessary has been given to stimulate employment intensive investments and in any case it will be difficult to find solutions to these problems quickly. But it is high time some serious thinking on the solutions was initiated.

THE FALKLANDS CRISIS

The invasion of the Falkland and South Georgia islands by Argentina has created a crisis in the South Atlantic which has already drawn the attention of the International lobbies. Hectic arguments and counter arguments regarding the rights of the two nations concerned continue and no consensus of opinion exists regarding the contradictory claims of Britain and Argentina. Conflicting opinions are expressed about the right of Sovereignty over these islands which lie in close proximity to both Argentina and Chile.

History records that the islands were discovered by an English navigator, John Davys in 1592. Later they were named after Viscount Falkland, the Treasurer of the English Navy in approximately 1765. About the same time Britain formally claimed the islands and established a permanent post at Port Egmont. The Spanish however removed the British from the Port within a short while but thereafter returned Port Egmont to Britain by bi-lateral settlement. However, although Britain continued to exercise Sovereignty over the islands, their right to do so remained in dispute.

About 1829 approximately the Republic of Buenos Aires (which has since been dis-

solved) decided to prove their claim in these islands as inheritors of the Spanish assertion, by setting up a colony. But this proved to be abortive as the U.S. Marines removed them and declared the islands "no man's land". But Britain who had continuously claimed Sovereignty there, took over the administration again.

Over the years thereafter settlers from Britain came to the islands. The administration was supported by the British naval interest in maintaining control obviously because of the strategic location of the islands. In course of time Port Stanley developed into a major naval centre and during both world wars, the location of this naval outpost helped the British considerably in their operations against the Germans.

On the other hand Argentina claims Sovereignty because the rights held by Spain were taken over by them as also due to the Geographical proximity of the islands to Argentina. They do not accept the European law of the right by conquest and in fact Article 17 of the Charter of the Organization of American States repudiates all territorial acquisitions obtained by force or coercion. Thus the forceful recovery of the islands by Britain about 1833 is unacceptable to Argentina. Furthermore Argentina contends that Britain evicted the original settlers of the islands who were of Argentinian descent and re-settled the island with Britishers deliberately. At the moment over 90% of the islanders are of British origin and have no desire for Argentinian control over their destiny.

The problems are thus not simple and are made more complicated by several more considerations, the most important one being the lack of any agreed basis for negotiation, because both nations have been negotiating for some sort of settlement for over 20 years but to no avail.

Secondly, while on the one hand the 14-nation Antarctica Treaty binds its signatories, including both Britain and Argentina, to refrain from claiming territory South of latitude 60, there is no such agreement regarding islands North of this latitude. Unfortunately these islands fall within the latter.

Thirdly, Britain won the support of the inhabitants of the islands when by referendum they expressed their desire to remain with Britain and refused unification with Argentina. This has been considered by all

nations to be a factor in favour of British claims and may ultimately be the deciding factor in the long run,

Last but not the least perhaps is fact that both countries are interested in retaining control in these waters after the recent discovery of oil bearing rocks near these islands. In the last event there is not likely to be any definite settlement soon and the crisis in the islands will remain unsolved for quite sometime to come.

REPRINT

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INDIAN IMMIGRATION STATISTICS

The annual report for 1909 of the Superintendent of Indian Immigrants to the Straits Settlements and Federated Malay States shows that 49,817 persons emigrated from Southern India to Penang last year. Of these 4119 were statute immigrants, 20,289 were free coolies with aided passage tickets, and 25,409 were classed as other immigrants. The number of Indians who returned to India from the Straits Settlements, namely, 30,284 adults and 1090 children, was higher in the year under review than in either of the preceding years.——'India', 4-11-1910.

COOLIE LABOUR IN BRITISH COLONIES

The Evils of the Indentured System

The Rev. J. H. Harris writes in the "Daily Chronicle" of October 26, as follows :—

The report of Lord Sanderson's Committee upon coolie labour presents the British Government and people with an exhaustive survey of immigrant coolie labour into the whole of our Crown Colonies and Protectorates. The fruits of the committee's labours are contained in three documents—the committee's report, the appendices, and over 13,000 questions and answers, which together provide a mine of information for the student, the politician, and the humanitarian.

Of the 83 witnesses examined by the committee, some 31 were Government or ex-Government officials, possessing no financial interest in either indentured or free coolie labour. There were also 11 magistrates, "protectors" and immigration agents. This

leaves 41 unofficial witnesses, of whom no fewer than 31—including, unhappily, one Government official—have financial interests at stake.

With the report and the evidence the Government have ample material to decide whether the existing indenture system for Indian coolies shall be maintained, extended, reformed, or abolished—each of these demands was urged upon the committee. One thing is plain. If the British Government is to keep its administration free from the taint of Slavery, it must lose no time in bringing about radical reforms, not only in the Colonies, but in the "recruiting grounds of India."

The conditions under which the coolies leave India, the terms of the indentures, and the legislation of the colonies, combine to wean the coolie permanently from his Indian home. Consequently the "fittest" not only survive but settle down to live in the colony of their adoption ultimately competing successfully with both the whites and indigenous natives.

THE BRIGHTER SIDE

The material advantages reaped by the coolies during their period of service may be judged by their possessions in land, moneys in the saving banks, and remittances to India; also by plantations and mills now owned by free Indians. From the Federated Malay States there has been remitted to India something like half a million sterling annually; and £10,000 a year has gone from Trinidad over and above purchases of land in that Colony to the extent of 5,000 acres per annum. In British Guiana coolies have created the rice industry, and now possess 40,000 acres under cultivation, 15,000 head of cattle, and their taxed property is assessed at £142,000. The educational advantages received emphatic demonstration in the presence of

one witness, the son of an indentured coolie, who announced that he had just been called to the Bar at Lincoln's Inn. These, then, represent the brighter side of the system. Unhappily there is a darker side.

ABUSES IN RECRUITING.

The recruiting grounds of India claim first attention, for it is there that some of the most serious abuses are to be found. On this subject the Indian Government is strangely apathetic. It is surprising, having regard to the notorious evils existing, that the Government of India has not closed its ports long ago to the emigration of indentured labour. That such a step would be popular cannot be doubted. The villagers loathe the recruiter, the police treat them as the off-scourings of the earth. Some of the chambers of commerce have appealed to the Government to appoint a Commission to investigate the shortage of labour in India. Mr. Freemantle, a member of the Committee, stated that the Indian mines are very short of labour themselves. Sir J.D. Rees, M.P., the member for Montgomery, who is a director of several commercial concerns in India, "learns with dread any proposal to increase emigration", and Colonel Pitcher deplored the shortage of labour in the Punjab.

Every witness of experience in the methods of recruiting in India, called attention to the unsatisfactory character of recruiters. Mr. Warner, the Emigration Agent for Trinidad, gave the following evidence in reply to Sir George Robertson, who suggested that the recruiters were "rather doubtful people." "Unfortunately they are, very...They get so much a head, and that is one of the reasons why we do not get Santals, because the commission for coolies going to Assam is very much higher than the commission for coolies going to the West Indies." The most impressive evidence under this head

was that given by Mr. J.A. Broun, an Indian Civil Servant of large experience, who appeared before the committee at the suggestion of the Indian Government. Lord Sanderson asked him to give his impressions of the recruiting system to the committee. "My impression," said Mr. Broun, "is that the recruiting staff is very bad; the recruiters are the worst kind of men they could possibly have. They are generally very low class men, and as far as I understand, they are not paid by the results, but the number of emigrants that they get. The consequence is that they very often try to entice married women away from their husbands and try to get anybody they can".

HOW IMMIGRANTS ARE DECEIVED.

Evidence of deception practised upon the coolies in order to get them to sign an indenture is overwhelming. Mr. G. Fitzpatrick, an East Indian barrister, appointed by his people in Trinidad to represent them, stated in reply to Lord Sanderson; "I am sorry to say they (the coolies) complain that there have been misrepresentations; that they have been deceived in India; that they are never told that the work will be of that kind; but they are told that if they buy a piece of land and they just dig it they will find gold and things of that kind—"

Mr. Robert Duff is the Protector of Immigrants in British Guiana, and has had twenty-seven years' experience. He admitted that the people are deceived by the recruiters' stories. The recruiter who tells the most lies gets the most coolies, a great many of whom are naturally discontented afterwards when they arrive in the colony by the contrast between the reality and the anticipation." They tell the coolies lots of nonsense I am quite sure, said an estate manager, "because a coolie has often told

me he was told so, and, in fact, he thought all he had to do was to lie on his back and the coconuts would drop into his mouth, and gold, and everything else."

AN UGLY POSITION.

In addition, we have the authority of two witnesses possessing incomparable facilities for studying the question of recruiting in its relation to the Indian Police. Colonel Pitcher, a gentleman who, "whenever he found such men (returned emigrants), was always...in the habit of asking them questions." To this officer Lord Sanderson put the question, "Do you think the recruiters are themselves unpopular?" "Undoubtedly," replied Colonel Pitcher, "particularly unpopular with the police in those days, in certain districts. In Lucknow and Cawnpore the police used to bully the recruiters. I have no doubt where the recruiters squared the police there was no bullying at all." "Mr. W. Bolton, assistant Emigration Agent, informed the Committee that: "...Undoubtedly he (the recruiting agent) suffers from a good deal of oppression at the hands of the subordinate police, and he has to tip them as he goes along."

This, then, represents the position in India, and a very ugly one it is. There are other features almost, if not quite, as serious and the duty of the Government is to appoint a local committee in India, with terms of reference which will embrace the whole field of the recruiting operations.

WRONGS WHICH CALL FOR REDRESS.

Continuing his survey, Mr. Harris writes in the "Daily Chronicle" of November 2:—

The indenture term for coolies varies technically from 600 days in the Straits Settlement to five years in the West Indies. I say "technically" because the full period which a coolie must remain in the Colony is, in most cases, very much longer. One

witness frankly revealed the desire nearest the heart of the planters. "Anything which would tend to keep in the Colony able-bodied efficient labourers who are already acclimatised, in my opinion, would be good."

The contract usually provides for maintenance and medical attendance; wages something under a shilling a day, or, as the labourer finds out when he gets to the Colony, per diem means "per task." This, in Trinidad, works out at about 4s. a week. It also has some stipulation with regard to the return passage to India, but this is the most debated subject in every colony; it is, moreover, one of the weapons used for extending a contract, and provides a perpetual battle ground between the Government, the coolie, and the employer as to the relative incidence—each endeavours to make the "other fellow" pay.

INDENTURE AND SLAVERY.

Slavery means a surrender of personal liberty, the absence of right to a wage for labour given, no citizen rights, no rights of property. The indenture system in the British Colonies cannot be said to impose these limitations. Liberty is considerably restricted it is true; the wage is admittedly poor; but though punishments are administered with deplorable frequency, apart from deceptive promises by the recruiting agent the coolie enters into the indenture with no more compulsion than unfortunate circumstances impose.

How far the indentured labourer realises before he or she leaves India the difference of a day's work of six hours and an equivalent "task" is very doubtful. Beyond all question, the "task" allotment is the cause of frequent, and in some cases, serious trouble between the estate managers and the labourers. Mr. E. G. Corney, a medical officer in Fiji, informed the Committee that there was a good deal of rivalry between the sirdars and overseers, naturally, to get more work out of their gangs, and so get credit from their employers

and stand better with the managers, and that "many of the quarrels have been due to that". The "task" being at the discretion of the employer, with power to prosecute under labour ordinances for "non-completion" is bound to open the door to serious abuses. Indeed, in Fiji one of the chief troubles of the Immigration Department is that of preventing the employers "over-tasking" the labourers. Mr. George Kirkpatrick affirmed that in Trinidad "in certain cases a man is given a task which he cannot complete in a day, and it takes him two days to complete it. In that way section 70 of the ordinance is undoubtedly infringed, because there are as many as 30 per cent. of the male immigrants who have earned less than the average of 6½ a day minimum wages."

The serious blot in the whole of the indenture system in certain colonies is that of the frequency of charges in the courts and punishments. These demands must have the immediate attention of the Government. Indeed, British honour requires that Lord Crewe should speak upon this aspect at an early date, in a manner which will show the planters clearly that unless the present state of affairs is speedily rectified no more indentured coolies will leave the shores of India.

Lord Sanderson's Committee, in its report, says of British Guiana: There is, however, one unsatisfactory feature of indentured immigration, which is at least as prominent in this as in any of the other colonies, and that is the extent to which the employers resort to the Criminal Courts in order to enforce the fulfilment by the immigrants of their statutory obligations."

The Committee was equally disturbed about Trinidad, and submits that "there are grounds for an enquiry on the spot into the working of the provisions of the ordinances which deal with the penalties imposed on the indentured labourer for breach of contract and absence from work." Much the same applies to Fiji.

FUNDAMENTAL DUTIES

ANADI BHUSAN MAITY

The Constitution of India came into force on January 26, 1950. The Preamble to the Constitution has declared India as a Sovereign Democratic Republic which will rest on the four pillars of civilization—Justice, Liberty, Equality and Fraternity. One of the special features of the Constitution is the inclusion of a Bill of Rights, viz. justiciable Fundamental Rights (Part III). These fundamental rights are the rights of the individual against the State. But the Constitution is silent about the fundamental duties of the individual. It is also important to note that while the Constitution has adopted most of the principles of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948), there is no provision corresponding to Art. 29 (1) of the Declaration which envisages: "Everyone has duties to the community in which alone the free and full development of his personality is possible." It has been pointed out that in the past too much emphasis on the rights has led to the erosion of social values which is the root cause of social and political instabilities. The Constitution should include prescribing the duties and obligations of citizens as a sort of counterpoise to the fundamental rights already enshrined in it. The 42th Amendment of the Indian Constitution has, therefore, inscribed a chapter on the Fundamental Duties of the citizen (Part IV-A) with the object of creating 'a social awareness of duties to balance the fundamental rights'. The purpose of this article is to find out the feasibility of incorporating the Fundamental Duties in the Constitution and to suggest ways and means of their implementation.

It is often said that rights and duties are inextricably interlinked, and as such the one guarantees the other. Rights are inherent in duties and so are duties inherent in rights. Mahatma Gandhi laid much emphasis on the organic and casual link between rights and duties. However, before dealing with their relationships we should know the meanings of the two words—Rights and Duties. Rights are defined as those claims on society without which man cannot achieve his best self. On the other hand, duties are those claims on the individual without which society cannot promote human welfare. Duties are those activities which are demanded by law, morality or social conscience. These are the 'do's' and 'don't's' prescribed by society. Democracy seeks to achieve a proper balance between rights and duties. The success of democracy will, in practice, be determined by the extent to which citizens are prepared to perform conscientiously the duties required of them. Thus rights imply duties. "Rights", as Prof. Laksi has said, "are correlative with functions. I have them that I may make my contribution to the social end.....I have no claim to receive without the attempt, at least, to pay for what I receive. Function is thus implicit in right". 1 Mr. H. W. Peck points out that "individual rights are the correlatives of duties. Rights and duties together make up the moral order of society. Each duty is that which is expected of the individual. Each right is that which the individual expects of others or of society at large. 2 "It is, indeed, a recognised principle of not only ethics and

social relations but also of politics that rights and duties go together, that rights stem from duties performed. Rights are essentially social concepts. All rights evolve from society and they are all qualified by corresponding duties. It is, therefore, incorrect to imagine that rights are devoid of duties and can be exercised in a vacuum. As a matter of fact every right carries with it a corresponding duty and all rights must be exercised in a manner so as to promote the general social well-being. Without corresponding obligation, the whole conception of right becomes meaningless. Right without duty is self-defeating. Duties create and sustain rights. There is thus a close correlation between Rights and Duties. In the words of Shri Beni Prasad: "They are two aspects of the same things. If one looks at them from one's own standpoint, they are rights. If one looks at them from the standpoint of others, they are duties." 3

It can be emphasised too greatly that in a democracy the citizen's duties have become far-reaching in the context of the broader conception of citizenship which has become 'more positive and constructive and transcends mere patriotism. A citizen is required to make "the contribution of one's instructed judgement to the public good", as Laski has put it.⁴ In other words, a citizen not only possesses rights but also owes duties to the State to promote the general well-being and progress of society. As has been aptly stated: 'A democracy of rights minus duties can seldom function even as a bank of withdrawals minus deposits.' Shri Abid Ali also said: "A democracy of rights minus obligations cannot function for any length of time. It would be like the run on a bank which has ceased receiving deposits, but is only required to pay out." Evidently the successful working

of democracy is not possible if the citizens do not discharge their duties intelligently and with diligence and with a full sense of responsibility.

Traditionally rights and responsibilities have always gone together in India. Since time immemorial the emphasis in Indian society has invariably been on the individual's 'Kartaviya', i.e. performance of duty. A study of the ancient Indian Constitutional polity shows that our constitutional system worked on a set of obligations as the key concepts. The ancient Indian Dharma Sastras defined the obligations of the rulers and the people. They did not define the powers of the King but his obligations. We are, therefore, reminded times without number that rights flow only from duties well-performed. Sri Aurobinda emphasised the need for fundamental duties more than the fundamental rights for he saw with prophetic vision that the unity of mankind could best be achieved if everyone would fulfil his duties towards his fellow-beings, for that would be in accordance with his *Swadharma*—the law of his own being. Gandhiji also put more emphasis on the performance of one's own duties than on the enjoyment of rights; for, it is the basis of enjoyment of real freedom. He viewed rights and duties as two sides of the same coin and rights do not exist independently of duties. When the Constitution of India was first discussed, he proposed to incorporate a chapter listing fundamental duties of citizens. This will be evident from studying the thought-provoking brochure on 'Gandhian Constitution for Free India' by Shri S. N. Agarwal. The Three Fundamental Duties included in the Gandhian Constitution were as follows:

1. All citizens shall be faithful to the State

especially in times of national emergency and foreign aggression.

2. Every citizen shall promote public welfare by contributing to State funds in cash, kind or labour as required by law.
3. Every citizen shall avoid, check and, if necessary resist exploitation of man by man.

Such enumeration of duties, it was urged, would in no way abridge the fundamental rights but would help remind the people that no rights are absolute or unconditional.

After the achievement of Independence the founding fathers of the Constitution felt the need of a Bill of Rights because of the fact that it was necessary to restrain the government from acting arbitrarily. This was the outcome of the experience of arbitrary and ruthless measures taken by the British Executive in India against the national leaders during the freedom struggle. The Indian leaders strongly favoured the inclusion of a list of fundamental rights in the Constitution in order to establish a 'limited government,' i.e. "a governmental system to which absolute power is not vested in the hands of any organs of the State." Nevertheless, duties are clearly implied from the language of the Preamble to the Constitution. But except by implications, no fundamental duties are mentioned in it. Part III of the Constitution embodies the Fundamental Rights of the Citizen and consist of 24 Articles. These rights cover a wide range and are divided into seven parts, viz. the Right to Equality, the Right to Freedom, the Right to Freedom of Religion, Right to Property, the Right against Exploitation, Cultural and Educational Rights and the Right to Constitutional Remedies. It is widely held that the chapter

on Fundamental Rights is "a Bill of positive duties of the Government to the people,"⁶ It is interesting to note that these fundamental rights are based on the juristic concept of right-duty relationship. A close scrutiny of Part III would disclose that the Constitution has given as much importance to the duty of the individual as to his rights. The duties of the individuals have been stipulated in two forms, namely (i) in the form of restrictions imposed on the guaranteed rights, which may be called 'indirect duty stipulations', (ii) in the form of direct and mandatory order to the people to refrain from doing certain things prohibited by the Constitution, and this may be called 'direct duty stipulations'. The former refers to Arts. 19 (2) to 19(6) and 25. The latter is to be found in Arts. 15(2) (a), 17, 18(2), 23(1) and 24 of the Constitution. Remembering the array of duties which Hindu jurisprudence imposes on individuals, Shri K.P. Krishna Shetty thinks that the "Fundamental Rights part of the Constitution is based not only on Western Constitutional principles but on duty-oriented Hindu jurisprudence."⁷ It is thus evident that the framers of the Constitution have not given undue attribution of Sanctity to individual rights without reckoning the duties of individuals to society.

In the years after Independence, the people in India became right-conscious and tended to forget their fundamental duties and responsibilities. A suggestion to define citizen's duties was once made by Dr. Rajendra Prasad who felt deeply concerned over the signs of indiscipline and lawlessness in the country and the irresponsible behaviour of some legislators. Besides, the matter was discussed by the Servants of the People Society under the presidentship of the veteran leader, Sri Biswanath Das, formerly Chief Minister of Orissa. The Society even brought out a

small but useful pamphlet entitled 'Place of Duty in Our Lives And the Constitution of India.' The pamphlet surveys the Constitutions of various countries and suggests 'without altering or abridging any of our fundamental rights, a few purposeful additions to fill up the gap in our Constitution bringing in certain duties from which citizens' rights flow and without which such rights cannot survive'. Despite these facts, no efforts were made to include fundamental duties of the citizens in the Constitution. With the passage of time large sections of the people in the country had become obsessed with what they regarded as their legal constitutional rights without any thought to their duties and obligations towards society and the nation which has enabled them to claim and exercise these rights. It was felt that the country badly needs a new jurisprudence in which stress and emphasis should be placed on duty rather than on right. This would no doubt help in restoring a much-needed balance in Indian Society. The omission in the Constitution is sought to be rectified by providing a Chapter on the citizen's Fundamental Duties corresponding to his Fundamental Rights, as laid down in the Constitutions of numerous countries of the world. A study of the world's leading Constitutions in respect of the provisions for the citizen's rights and duties will prove quite instructive.

Nearly 50 countries have incorporated duties in their Constitution. The Constitutions of the Socialist Countries, however, lay great emphasis on the citizen's duties. Thus the Constitution of the Soviet Union provides in Art.59 : Citizens' exercise of their rights and freedoms is inseparable from the performance of their duties and obligations." It again adds : "Citizens of the USSR are

obliged to observe the Constitution of the USSR and Soviet laws, comply with the standards of socialist conduct, and uphold the honour and dignity of Soviet citizenship." Art.60 lays down : "It is the duty of, and a matter of honour for, every able-bodied citizen of the USSR to work conscientiously in his chosen, socially useful occupation, and strictly to observe labour discipline. Evasion on socially useful work is incompatible with the principles of socialist society." Further, Art.61 says : "Citizens of the USSR are obliged to preserve and protect socialist property. Persons encroaching in any way on socialist property shall be punished according to the law." Art.62 points out : "Defence of the Socialist Motherland is the sacred duty of every citizen of the USSR". Thus the Soviet Union imposes upon the people definite duties towards society and the State. It is important to note that the Soviet Constitution has influenced the Constitutions of other socialist countries to a great extent. The Constitution of Yugoslavia has also made explicit provision for duties of citizens. Art.32 says : "The freedom and rights shall be achieved in solidarity among the people by the fulfilment of their duties towards each other." Art.60 envisages : "The defence of the country is the sacred and supreme duty and honour of every citizen." Art.61 points out : "Every citizen shall conscientiously discharge any public or other social office vested in him, and shall be personally accountable for discharging it." Again, Art.63 says : "Everyone shall abide by the Constitution and the law..." The Constitution of Poland lays down the fundamental duties. Art.76 says : "It is the duty of every citizen of the Polish People's Republic to abide by the provisions of the Constitution and of the laws, to maintain socialist work discipline, to respect the rules

of social intercourse and to discharge conscientiously their duties towards the State."

Art.77 points out: "It is the duty of every citizen of the Polish People's Republic to safeguard and strengthen social property, which is the unshakable foundation of the development of the State, the source of the wealth and might of the country." Again, Art.78 provides: "To defend the country is the most sacred duty of every citizen."

Further, the list of duties in the Constitution of Czechoslovakia is also impressive as will appear from the following articles. Art.34 provides: "Citizens shall be in duty bound to uphold the constitution and other laws and in all their actions to pay heed to the interests of the socialist State and the society of the working people." Art.35 says: "Citizens shall be in duty bound to protect and strengthen socialist ownership as the inviolable foundation of the socialist social order and the source of the welfare of working people, the wealth and strength of the country." Art.36 points out: "Citizens shall be in duty bound to discharge public functions entrusted to them by the working people conscientiously and honestly, and to consider their fulfilment in the interests of society as a matter of honour." Further, Art.38 provides: "An essential part of the duty of every citizen shall be respect for rights of his fellow citizens and the careful observance of the rules of socialist conduct." Again, the list of fundamental duties in the Constitution of North Vietnam is impressive. Art.38 says: "The State forbids any person to use democratic freedoms to the detriment of the interests of the State and of the people." Art.39 lays down: "Citizens of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam must abide by the Constitution and the law, uphold discipline at work, keep public order and respect for social ethics." Art.40 provides: "The public

property of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam is sacred and inviolable. It is the duty of every citizen to respect and protect public property." The Constitution of the People's Republic of China also contains a separate chapter (Chapter III) on fundamental rights and duties. But the duties of the citizens are more or less the same as in the Soviet Union. It is an honourable duty of Citizens to perform military service and a sacred duty to protect the homeland, to abide by the Constitution, to respect and protect public property, uphold discipline at work, keep public order, respect social ethics and to pay taxes.

The duties of the Citizen have also been laid down in the Constitutions of the non-socialist countries, such as Japan, Switzerland, Netherlands, Italy, etc. The Japanese Constitution, in consonance with the age-old tradition of the country, places considerable emphasis on the citizens duties. Art.12 of the Constitution provides that the citizen shall always be responsible for utilising their rights for the public welfare. The Constitution of Switzerland also provides that along with rights each citizen has obligations and duties. The Constitution lays down that every citizen must develop in himself all the qualities of a good citizen of Switzerland. It should be mentioned that in Britain, Canada and Australia the rights and duties of citizens are governed largely by common law and judicial decisions. The Constitution of France makes only a passing reference to duties and obligations of citizens. The Constitution of the USA provides only for fundamental rights and does not refer to corresponding obligations. But this does not imply that the people of these and other countries behave in an irresponsible manner.

In view of the provisions of fundamental

duties in the Constitutions of various countries it was felt that what the Founding Fathers of the Constitution failed to do should be done now. Presiding over the Second All-India State Bar Councils Convention in New Delhi on March 27, 1976, the former Union Law Minister, Shri H.R. Gokhale, suggested that the legal community should consider the possibility of introducing a new chapter on Fundamental Duties in the country's Constitution. It was observed that while too much emphasis on the enjoyment of Fundamental Rights proved harmful to the country in the past, the inclusion of a Chapter of Fundamental Duties would produce a sobering effect on those restless spirits who were engaged in a host of anti-national activities. The All-India Congress Committee, at its session held in New Delhi on May 29, 1976, adopted a resolution to appoint a Committee to suggest some fundamental duties and obligations that the citizens of India owe to the nation, inter-alia, and to act in such a manner as to maintain and strengthen the unity and integrity of India; to perform honestly all public duties and to safeguard public property; to act in accordance with the Constitution and the laws of the land; and to maintain discipline in all walks of life. It proposed to draft a Chapter on duties and obligations so that it may be inscribed in the Constitution at an early date. The Congress President appointed the Swaran Singh Committee which framed, after detailed discussion, the following eight Fundamental Duties of Indian Citizens so that the same might be incorporated in the Constitution :

1. To uphold the sovereignty of India and to function in the way to sustain and strengthen the unity and integrity of India.

2. To respect and abide by the Indian Constitution and laws of the nation.
3. To respect every democratic institution enshrined in the Constitution and to avoid doing anything that may impair their dignity and authority.
4. To adjure communalism in any form or manner.
5. To defend India and to render national services, inclusive of military service, whenever required to do so.
6. To assist and co-operate in implementing the Directive Principles of State Policy and promoting the common good of the nation in order to subserve interests of economic and social justice.
7. To pay taxes as is required by the laws of the land.
8. To safeguard and protect public properties and not do anything that may either cause destruction or damage to such properties besides adjuring violence.

Such duties were proposed to be obligatory on any citizen. Hence, the Committee recommended coercive machinery for the enforcement of these duties. It said : "Parliament may by law provide for the imposition of such penalty or punishment as may be considered appropriate for any non-compliance with, or refusal to observe, any of these duties. No law imposing such penalty or punishment shall be called in question in any court on the ground of infringement of any of the fundamental rights or on the ground of repugnancy to any other provisions of the Constitution."

The list of duties formulated by the Swaran Singh Committee was amended subse-

quently. However, the amended list was included in the 42nd Constitution Amendment Bill which was introduced in the Parliament on September, 1976. According to the statement of objects and reasons appended to the Bill, the 42nd Amendment was intended to achieve "the objective of socio-economic revolution, which would end poverty and ignorance and disease and inequality of opportunity....". On October 29, 1976 the Lok Sabha voted to incorporate for the first time in the country's Constitution a chapter specifying fundamental duties of the citizens. Shri H.R. Gokhale, the former Union Law Minister, described the Chapter as "by far the most fundamental and very important for the purpose of every generation, the present as well as the future". The ten Fundamental Duties incorporated in the Constitution call upon the Citizens to :—

1. Respect the constitution, the national flag and the national anthem ;
2. Cherish the noble ideals of the freedom struggle ;
3. Uphold and protect the sovereignty, unity and integrity of the nation ;
4. Defend the country and render national service when called ;
5. Promote the common brotherhood of all the people of India and renounce any practice derogatory to the dignity of women ;
6. Preserve the rich heritage of the nation's composite culture ;
7. Protect the natural environment and have compassion for living creatures ;
8. Develop scientific temper, humanism and spirit of inquiry and reform ;

9. Safeguard public property and adjure violence ;

10. Strive for excellence in all individual and collective activity.

The provision of Fundamental Duties has been incorporated in Part IV—A of the Constitution. It should be noted that in the Amended Bill the coercive machinery for the enforcement of Fundamental Duties was dropped, and as a result these duties, in the absence of penal provision, appear to be devoid of any significance. Nevertheless, these duties are considered vital for the evolution of legal principles as we have seen in the case of the Directive Principles of State Policy. In fact, from the legal point of view the status of Fundamental duties is similar to the Directive Principles. As Dr. D. Bose observes: "The legal utility of the Fundamental duties is similar to that of the Directives as they stood in the Constitution of 1949 ; while the Directives were addressed to the State, without any sanction, so are the Duties addressed to the Citizen, without any legal sanction for their violation."⁸ However, it has been assumed that these duties would help the Courts in defining the scope of the Fundamental Rights. It may also be a useful aid to the interpretation of the other provisions of the Constitution.

Leaving aside legal utility, the Fundamental Duties are, no doubt, vital to the needs of society. These duties are not such as will flow from the rights themselves. They are general in nature. They are part of India's rich literary and cultural heritage. As such they reflect the tradition and aspiration of the nation. The moral value of the Fundamental Duties would be "not to smother rights but to establish a democratic balance" by making

the people conscious of their duties as equally as they are conscious of their rights. Indeed, the observance of these duties will help in bringing about a qualitatively different life. According to our former Prime Minister, proper observance of these duties would lead to "a healthy change in the attitudes and thinking of the people and bring about a peaceful revolution." 9 Shri S.V. Kogekar rightly points out that "the effect of this part would be primarily psychological." 10 Endorsing the need for including the fundamental duties in the Constitution, Shri S.P. Sen Varma observes : "Apart from legal remedies for violation or breach of such duties, their very presence in the Constitution side by side with the fundamental rights will have the salutary effect of reminding everyone that in enforcing his fundamental rights he has a duty and an obligation to respect the fundamental rights of every member of the community. This may gradually develop in individual members of society a sense of moral values for the rights of others." 11 Dr. V.K.R.V. Rao also strongly advocates the inclusion of a Chapter on Fundamental Duties in the Constitution. He points out : "In fact, it is the non-observance of duties that makes the exercise of such rights a one-sided and power-based affair. We have seen during recent years in our country how the exercise of rights without the acceptance of duties has brought about instability, disorder, destruction of public property and near conditions of anarchy so inimical to economic growth, social progress and political maturity." 12 Further, the provision of fundamental duties is stated to be more important to the industrial community, because the shape of future industrial relations in the country will be considerably influenced by this. As has been stated ; "If fundamental duties are enforced, there should

be better discipline in industry and gherrao, violence and any destruction of property by workers should become a thing of the past." The observance of the duties will ultimately result in changing attitudes of employers and employees and both will strive earnestly towards achieving 'excellence' in all spheres of individual and collective activity, so that the nation constantly rises to higher levels of endeavour and achievement. In short, the chapter on Fundamental Duties will bring about a revolutionary change in the attitude of the workers towards their rights in industry. As Dorothy M Pickles observes : "The more the citizen learns to think of rights in terms of duties, the more he is likely to try to assess possibilities rationally and to make reasonable demands." 13

There are some critics who do not attach much importance to fundamental duties. Dr. P.B. Mukharji holds the view that the chapter on Fundamental Duties should be deleted as it will "introduce divisive forces and fissiparous tendencies among the body politic of the whole country." 14 It is difficult to accept this view. In fact, the introduction of the Chapter on Fundamental Duties has made the Constitution more balanced. The observance of these duties will lead to the emergence of new social values and thus set a new pattern of national conduct. This will ultimately pave the way towards maintaining the unity and integrity of the nation.

The incorporation into the constitution of the citizen's duties and obligations is certainly a novel feature. Much would, of course, depend on the actual implementation of those duties. The Swaran Singh Committee proposed enactment of legislation for their enforcement. In fact, there are certain obligations which can be enforced upon a

citizen through laws. But legislation alone is not an adequate machinery for the implementation of fundamental duties. Moreover, enforcement through laws will be only a negative approach. What is needed is the positive approach for their implementation. It is essential to note that the duties have an ethical and spiritual content representing certain basic values. Obviously this involves change in our mental process and social attitude. Effective steps have, therefore, to be taken for the creation of the necessary public opinion and social climate. To achieve this purpose it is necessary to include it in our educational curricula. "The defects of democracy", says Prof. Laski, "are most largely due to the ignorance of democracy."

15 Education is one of the main instruments for making democracy active and creative. Democracy depends on educated, disciplined and duty-oriented citizens. In short, education is to democracy what nutrition is to physiological life. There should be systematic, intensive and purposeful education of citizens right from the school stage. The duties and obligations have to be taught to our young people at the schools. 'The school is the little world in which the child is trained for the larger world of life. Thus fundamental duties and obligations should be included in the syllabi of Secondary Schools, if we want to make them a reality in the life of the people.

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MISSIONARIES AND PRINTING IN INDIA

P. THANKAPPAN NAIR

There are no two opinions about the fact that the Spanish Brother John Gonsalvez is the father of printing in India. He was the first missionary to cut 'Malabar' types at the Collegium Inchoatum of Santa Cruz at Vaipicotta in 1577 for printing a Catechism. Gonsalvez is rightly called the Indian Gutenberg and Vaipicotta the counterpart of Mainz.

The indebtedness of Brother Gonsalvez to Brother John Bustamantes is generally overlooked. The modern art of printing in India originated at Goa and the Spanish coadjutor Brother John Bustamantes was the first printer. This is an undisputed and universally acknowledged fact. The first material printed by him on the Indian soil CONCLUSIOES or Theses of Philosophy. The printing of St. Francis Xavier's DOCTRINA CHRISTIANA in 1577 was an epoch-making event in the history of India for it heralded a new age in the dissemination of knowledge.

Though printing by movable types was not new to India, the honour of being called the first printer of modern India goes to Brother Bustamantes. The history of printing in India, as a matter of fact, dates back from the days of the Indus Valley civilisation. The earliest printed objects are the seals of Mohenjo-daro and Harappa, the deciphering of which has been claimed by many a scholar

of India and abroad. The story of printing in the Indus Valley is yet to be told, but it is doubtful whether the seals were printed with the help of mechanical devices. The seals which have been unearthed from the various sites of this pre-historic culture are dissimilar and no two seals bear the same legend.

Mechanical devices are believed to have been employed at the ancient University of Nalanda for making several copies of books quickly. The earliest printed extant document, the DIAMOND SUTRA of the Japanese empress Shotoku in Chinese characters dated 770 A.D. is in an Indian language and is believed to have been carried out in Japan.¹

A block print in the Brahmi script dating back to 770 A.D. with Sanskrit characters found in the Tunhuang caves has been reproduced by Aurel Stein, the great orientalist in one of his books.² The Buddhist monasteries of Central Asia were the depositories of many ancient Sanskrit Grantha. The Prussian expedition of 1902-07 discovered a ten-leaved, two-feet-long-six-inches-wide, pothi, "the most beautiful specimen of printing," executed in the 13th century in one of these monasteries. The Chinese edition of the TRIPITAKA in 5,048 volumes printed during A.D. 972-983 was a work for which Indian Buddhist monks contributed their skill.³ These and

A preliminary note on the subject was published by the author in the October 1964 issue of the MODERN REVIEW. A portion of this article has appeared in the HINDU of March 30 and April 6, 1969.

other printed objects have, no doubt, an academic and historic value, but the credit for its commercial exploitation for modern India goes to John Bustamantes.

The 6th of September, 1556 was a red-letter day for India when Spanish Brother John Bustamantes reached Goa. He was ordained a priest at Goa in 1564 after completing his studies. In fact, he was originally destined for Ethiopia and the Patriarch of Ethiopia, John Nunes, who accompanied the lay Brother, persuaded him to work in India. Very little biographical data are available about this "Typographer of Valencia" except that he was born at Valencia of Cid in 1530 and was admitted to the Society of Jesus in 1555. His death in Goa on August 25, 1588 was a great loss to printing in India.⁴

The first printing press of India was situated at the College of Saint Paul (Jesuit seminary) in Goa and it is interesting to note that the press was commissioned with the assistance of John of Emden, John Gonsalvez and Bustamantes's Indian assistants, who were trained in the art of printing in Portugal.⁵ The press was meant for supplying religious literature for the land of the legendary Prester John (Ethiopia). From a letter of the Patriarch of Ethiopia, John Nunes, written from Goa to Fr. Luis Consales de Camera on the 6th of November, 1556 we find that the philosophers held a public act and the CONCLUSEOS was printed by Brother Bustamantes.⁶

Though many books were printed by John Bustamantes in his printing press at Goa, the author of the first broadsheet, CONCLUSEOS or Theses of Philosophy was Antonio de Quadros, who was Professor of Philosophy at St. Paul's during 1556-59.⁷ It is

doubtful whether a copy of this earliest printed broadsheet is extant. St. Francis Xavier's DOCTRINA CHRISTAO or Catechism which he had composed in 1547 was printed by Brother Bustamantes in 1547. No copy of this book has survived.⁸

The third book printed by Brother Bustamantes was the TRACTADO (1560) written by Fr. Goncalo Rodrigues. The earliest book printed at Goa available today in the world is the COMPENDIO SPIRITUAL DA VIDA CHRISTAA (Spiritual Compendium of the Christian Life). A copy of this earliest available printed book, having nearly 500 pages, is preserved at the Rare Book Room of the New York Public Library. The printer of this book was John Quinquencio and John of Emden, assistants of Brother Bustamantes. The author of this publication is the first Archbishop of Goa, Dom' Casper de Leao Pereira and the book was issued to the public on the 2nd of July, 1581. The microfilming of this book is not possible as it is in its original binding. One of the most useful books published from Goa was Garcia da Orta's COLOQUIOS DOS SIMPLES EDROGAS printed in April, 1565.⁹ The English version of this interesting book is available.

Brother John Bustamantes is not called the father of printing in India because the types of his press were brought from Portugal. He was a zealous missionary and his great enthusiasm for printing religious books knew no bounds. He printed a treatise in 1560 in Portuguese written by Goncalo Rodrigues which showed the primacy of the Roman church over the Abyssinian schismatics. However, the efforts of the fathers of the College of Saint Paul to get the Ethiopian types from Rome for use in the land

of Prester John did not succeed till a later date.¹⁰

The printing activities of the Jesuits of Goa with imported Latin types did not bring any benefit to the natives as Latin alphabet proved unintelligible to them. The aim of converting the heathen population was not achieved with printing books in Latin. It is in this context that the cutting of "Malabar" types by John Gonsalves' an assistant of Brother Bustamantes in 1577 must be viewed. That is why Gonsalves is called the father of printing in India.

Vaipicotta was the place where the first vernacular printing press in India was situated. The remains of this first Indian language printing press are situated in the compound of the Holy Cross church of Chennamangalam (Chandamangalam in Postal records)¹¹ in the erstwhile Cochin State, about 10 miles west of Alwaye. The church is situated at Kizhakkumpuram. Only two pillars of the seminary of Vaipicotta remain today.¹²

The Vaipicotta seminary that once overlooked the beautiful lagoon, formed by the Periyar before its fall into the Arabian sea at Cranganore, was established by the Jesuit missionaries on a piece of land granted by the Villarvattam Rajah.¹³

From the records of the Paliath Achans, who succeeded the Villarvattam Rajah, it is gathered that the lands adjoining the Holy Cross church formed the original endowment to the seminary.¹⁴ A piece of garden land, just adjacent to the remains of the seminary, survives as the nucleus of the gift of the Villarvattam Rajah from which the expenses of the church and the seminary were met.

The Jesuit house of Vaipicotta was founded in 1577 by Antonio Guedes de Moraes. His initial contribution to its expenses amounted to 25,000 pardaos. He settled an annuity of 500 pardaos. He also bought property which yielded an annual income of 300 pardaos. His death on the 15th of July, 1607 was mourned by the members of the seminary.¹⁵

The proposal to establish a Jesuit residence at Vaipicotta was, in fact, originally mooted by Archbishop Mar Abraham of Angamali to Pope Gregory XIII. From his letter dated 3rd January, 1568 and addressed to the Holy See we learn that "the faith and religion of the Jesuits will be to me of great help to recall to this Province to the true path, to the obedience and customs of the Holy Roman church and to maintain it in the same," and to attain this object, "I have granted a written faculty to the Fathers of the Society to stay and work in my Diocese according to their Institute".¹⁶ The great Visitor of the East, Fr. Alessandro Valignani, paid a visit to Mar Abraham to get permission for Jesuit enterprise in his Diocese.¹⁷ Consequently, a "poor" church was erected in honour of the true cross. Fr. Bernardino Ferrario, probably an Italian, and Pedro Luis, the first Brahmin who entered the Society of Jesus and helped Father Henriques to translate St. Xavier's DOCTRINA CHRISTAO, were the first two persons to take up their residence at Vaipicotta. This native priest played an important part in the affairs of the Church in Kerala. He was present at the Provincial Synod convoked at the Cathedral of Angamali in 1585 and celebrated low mass in Latin.¹⁹

The new residence which was added to Vaipicotta soon developed into a seminary.

The original church built by Fr. George de Castro was probably destroyed by Tipu Sultan, but the same was rebuilt in its present condition. Many stones with inscriptions in Vastezhuthu characters of Malayalam have now been kept mounted on a small wall built for the purpose just right to the entrance of the church. More interesting inscriptions may be lying buried in the compound of the church. The inscriptions mounted on the wall recount the munificence of the donors.

The seminary at Vaipicotta had the most eminent theologians of these days. The best native priests were trained here for which a general confession of all their past sins was the admission test. Father Francis Roz, who was at first adviser of Bishop Mar Abraham and later his successor at Cranganore, was the first Rector of the seminary. He introduced certain Syrian elements into the seminary training in 1584 and added to the curriculum of Theology a course of Syro-Chaldaic, of which he himself was the Professor.²⁰ Father Roz, though a Spaniard, was a master of Malayalam, Tamil, Latin, Portuguese and Chaldaic. He used to celebrate the Holy Mass in Syriac. He seldom cared for the objections of the ecclesiastics to both the teaching of Syro-Chaldaic and the celebration of the Mass in the Syriac. The Pope, to whom a representation for the abolition of the teaching of the Syro-Chaldaic was made, supported Father Roz declaring that the "variety of rites is one of the ornaments of the church, who is like a queen clad in varied garments".

The report of Cardinal Gesualdo presented to the Holy See in 1583 says: "There is a seminary staffed by the Fathers of the Society in which live fifty or sixty students belonging to the descendants of those who were converted to the true faith by the Apostle St.

Thomas. They are taught the Humanities, Latin, and Chaldaic, the Case of Conscience, the rudiments of the Catholic Faith and of the Liturgy. From the same seminary many have already come forth fairly well instructed; and some have been raised to the priesthood."²¹

Records are few to reconstruct the history of the Vaipicotta seminary. There were five Fathers and four lay Brothers in 1602 and the residences of Porcad (45 miles south of the port of Cochin) and Angamali were attached to it.²² Father Roz, who became the first Latin Archbishop of Cranganore, used to pay frequent visits to the seminary. In January 1604 he stopped at Vaipicotta on his way back from Cochin where he had been called by the Maharajah to transact some business. He concluded a peace treaty between Mangat Achan, the hereditary Prime Minister of the Zamorin, and the king of Angamali.²³ The number of pupils at the seminary in 1626 was twenty. Father Francis Fernandez²⁴ seems to have been the Rector of the seminary from 1611 to 1618, for we find from the records that Francis de Oliveyra²⁵ was the Rector of the college in August 1618. The death of the two famous Rectors of the seminary, Archbishop Francis Roz (whose remains were interred at the St. Ferone Church or Kottaikkavu Palli as it is called in popular parlance in North Parur)²⁶ and Fr. Fernandez (whose burial took place at Vaipicotta²⁷ though no memorial exists today) on 16th, February 1624 and 31st January, 1641 respectively left the college without able guidance. The seminary was destroyed by Syrian Christians in the wake of the Coonen Cross revolt.²⁸ The statement that the seminary was converted into a Leper Asylum after the Dutch conquest of Cochin in 1663 seems to be not correct

as the Asylum was in fact located at Pallipattanam.²⁹

The life of the pupils of the Vaipicotta seminary is better described in a letter³⁰ written to the General of the Society in 1644 : "In this seminary are received the sons of the Christians of St. Thomas. They learn there the Syriac language which is taught to them by the Rector of the seminary himself with a view to their being ultimately ordained priests, for Mass is said in the Syriac. The formation of these seminarists who are called Chamasas is a very laborious one. The seminarists learn not only Syriac but also Holy Scripture in the same language. Every Saturday they receive conferences on the subjects of Faith, the administration and reception of the sacraments, on devotion to our Lady and the saints, generally concluded by an exhortation. The seminarists who are not yet in Holy Orders recite every morning Christian doctrine while those in Orders go at 5 A. M. to say Matins in the church and in the evening Vespers and compline. At night, before retiring to sleep, they say altogether, the litanies of Our Lady, or of the Most Blessed Sacraments. The Blessed Sacrament is reserved in a small chapel, and there they make their examen of Conscience and then retire for the night". The students at the seminary wore a white garment in the shape of a soutane. The priests were dressed in black, white or sky-blue. ³¹ The formation of the spiritual life of the young Levites at Vaipicotta was in the best tradition of the Jesuit Society.

Though the exact number of persons who were baptised during the existence of the seminary is not known, it is on record that at least 24 received baptism in 1603. Alexis de Menezes, Archbishop of Goa from 1595 to 1609, who is well known in India chiefly in connection with the Synod of Diamper (1599) visited

Vaipicotta in February, 1599 and the reception accorded to him by the Jesuits and their scholars was unparalleled in the history of the seminary. His brilliant sermon on the text to prove that the former bishops of Serra (Kerala) were no better than thieves and robbers as they were not consecrated by the Pope made a great impact on his audience. ³² He said the mass attended by all the members of the seminary and the parish people.

The Fathers of Vaipicotta did not lack exploratory spirit. A party consisting of a Cassanar and a Chamas (i.e., a priest and a deacon) proceeded to Ootacamund in 1602 in order to discover and open the way to the habitat of the Todas who were mistaken as degenerated Christians of St. Thomas. The party after travelling more than fifty miles from Calicut reached the summit of the Blue Mountains. "Here they came upon a race which appeared, in accordance with the rumour, to be of those who were driven from the territory of St. Thomas by the many wars in former times and scattered through these parts".³³ The report of this team led the Bishop of Angamali to send Father Fenicio whose expedition to the Todas is well known.

The Fathers Francis Roz, De Castro, Antony Toscano and Brother Giovanni Maria Campori worked round the clock for making preparations at Diamper (Udaimperur, a town, not very far off from Vaipicotta) for the convocation of the Synod on 20th June, 1599. Father Roz and Toscano, who knew Malayalam, acted as interpreters, since the Archbishop, Menezes did not know that language. The seventeenth decree of the Synod introduced the practice that no priest should be allowed to preach without passing an examination, to be conducted by the Fathers of Vaipicotta. Further, it arranged for the transla-

tion of the Catechism into Malayalam.

No better testimony is needed for the Vaipicotta Fathers than the fortieth Decree of the Synod of Diamper which reads. "The Synod while it thanks in the Lord the Religious of the Society of the College of Vaipicotta and of the other Residences of this Diocese for the splendid work which they have done in instructing these people, gives to the same Religious, both of the College of Vaipicotta and of the larger Residences, and to their guests, the facility to preach, to explain the Catechism, to hear confessions and to solemnly administer the other sacraments in any church. No other leave, besides this, will be required. Further it orders the Cassanars, the Vicars and all the people to receive them, i.e., the Fathers, kindly and gladly and to show them their gratitude for the work they have done and for the expenses they have undergone in constantly travelling about these mountains and inaccessible places, with the only object of procuring the salvation of their souls."³⁴

The circumstances leading to the undertaking of printing by the Jesuits are interesting. A Franciscan friar, Father Vicente de Lagos, "a great servant of God", was sent to Malabar by Jon Joao de Albuquerque, Bishop of Goa, in 1545. He founded the College of Cranganore in 1546 despairing of making any progress among the older people, who were, in general, firmly attached to their ancient doctrines and practices. Fr. Vicente's intention was to educate the native Christian youth by Roman priests. The seminary had a splendid library and the "structure." Baldaeus tells us, "was in no way inferior to many in Europe. Within the fortress walls a magnificent Cathedral reared its stately head, and around it were the beautiful tombs of the Jesuit Archbishops". The Franciscan friar got help from

Father George, a native priest, who had returned from Portugal, for establishing the seminary. St. Francis Xavier found here about 100 students, sons of those that descended from the Christians whom St. Thomas converted.³⁵

Fr. Vicente did not know Syriac and the Syrian students were given exclusively Latinised training. The instruction in Latin theology and Latin Liturgy without the slightest regard for the Syrian rites led to discontent and later on Mar Joseph, who succeeded Mar Jacob as the Bishop of Serra refused their ordination. The first attempt ever made among the St. Thomas Christians to give their clergy a systematic training not only failed, but also caused tension by the Latinising policy of the seminary. The Jesuits did not take over the seminary, but founded instead a residence at Vaipicotta in 1577, as has been mentioned earlier, and they developed it into a seminary for training the Syrian clergy. Their first attempt was characterised by a notable realism in the approach to the thorny problem of training Syrians in Latin forms. A special feature of the seminary was the blending of Latin training and Syrian training so that the young Malayalee who entered the seminary found a new world, the world of classics. The thorough training was oriented towards future pastoral work of the seminarians and was not confined to theory or speculation. It is in this context that the attempts of the Jesuits at vernacular printing are to be viewed and no other place than Vaipicotta seemed suitable for the establishment of a printing press.

The celebrated printer, Gonsalvez seems to have joined Fathers Ferrario and Luis immediately after the establishment of the residence at Vaipicotta. The Pope granted a jubilee in 1578 to the new missionary endeavour and it

is on record that more than 1,000 received Holy communion on the occasion at Vaipicotta. The credit for raising a solid church, replacing the old "poor" church in 1581 goes to Father George de Castro who collected the necessary funds by gathering donations from among the Portuguese and the native potentates. The Rajah of Cochin, through his resident Prime Minister, Paliath Achan whose seat of government and residence were located at Chennamangalam, made a generous donation. He settled an annuity of Rs 300 in favour of the seminary to maintain thirty students, besides "some moneys" for the maintenance of two fathers. 36.

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- Vaipucottah". The last portion of the last sentence is not correct.
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 - Coonen Cross Revolt : The Syrian Christians of St. Thomas of Kerala accepted the overlordship of the Pope with mixed feelings. The policy of Latinisation pursued by the Franciscans proved a failure. The growing tensions between the Syrians and Latins, especially after the Synod of Diamper ended in Coonen Cross Revolt by which the Syrians threw away the yoke of Rome.
 - The Portuguese merchants meted out bad treatment to the



Syrians. Frequently their bishops were waylaid and shipped off to Portugal for onward transmission to Rome. The fate of the third Syrian Bishop, Mar Ahatalla who was sent by the Jacobite Patriarch at Diarbekr was no exception. He landed at Surat in the early months of 1652 and reached Mylapore. The Portuguese detained him in the house of the Jesuits. However, he managed to send a letter to his followers in Kerala through Brothers Itti and Kurien who had gone to Mylapore to visit the grave of St. Thomas. On receipt of this letter the Syrians assembled at Diamper and invited the Archbishop, Francis Garcia, to a conference. The Archbishop refused to recognise Mar Ahatalla. In the meanwhile, Ahatalla was put on board the Portuguese fleet bound for Goa. About 2500 Syrian Christians assembled at Mattancherri and demanded the release

of their Bishop. The Portuguese closed the gates of the fort and mounted their cannon for action. The Syrians were told that their Bishop was drowned in the sea. The mob was infuriated because the Portuguese had not only intercepted their Bishop but had also drowned him. They took a solemn oath renouncing all obedience to Archbishop Garcia touching the Coonen cross at Mattancherri. Some of the Syrians did not take this oath. The origin of PUTHEN-KOOTTUKAR AND PAZHAYAKOOT-TUKAR among the Syrian Christians is attributed to this incident. (For a detailed treatment of the Coonen Cross Revolt, see G.T. Mackenzie, *Christianity in Travancore, Trivandrum*, 1905 Pp 26-27 and 75-76) and Fr. K. David's **MALANKARA SURIYANI SABHA** (in Malayalam), Kottayam, 1949, Pp 60-62.

- (To be Continued)



KARMIC PSYCHOLOGY

Dr. BUDDHADASA P. KIRTHISINGHE

Today there is a world-wide renaissance. The peoples of the world are meeting together, more often, on common fronts. The cultural contributions they make are opening up vistas from which the cobwebs of superstition are wiped.

The East produced the Psychologists, the West only Professors of Psychology. The Eastern Adepts knew more about Psycho-Physical mechanism than do Western Anatomists, Physiologists and Psychologists. Scientific and Psychological investigations of the West now support the ancient Asian tradition that the study of life could be made with success mainly through psychic means. The West has met the East.

Rebirth or Re-incarnation are no longer fanciful theories relegated to feeble and superstitious minds. Evidence coming from the four quarters of the globe, supporting this fact, are too numerous and overwhelming. These baffle even the most sceptical of scientists.

Pythagoras, the Greek Philosopher, remembered some of his past lives. He remembered his name in a previous birth, visited the scene of battle of that time and found the very shield he then used. Scheilmann's passion for Homer as a boy, later made him the remarkable archeologist, who

discovered in the Trojan plain, the very weapons that Homer had described. Theresa von Konuersreuth of Czechoslovakia could speak pure Armanian in a trance. She believed in a life in the Galilee of Christ. At Vera Cruz, Mexico, a seven-year-old healed people by prescribing vegetable remedies. He believed that in a previous life he was the great Doctor Jules Alpherese. Mozart composed minuets before he was four. Beethoven performed in public at eight and published compositions at ten. Handel gave concerts at nine. Chopin played public concerts before nine. Samuel Wesley played the organ at three and composed an oratorio at eight. Christian Heinrich Heineken was able to speak at ten months. By the time he was one year old he knew the principal incidents in the Pentateuch. At two he had mastered sacred history. At three he had an intimate knowledge of history and geography, both ancient and modern, and was able to speak French and Latin. At four he had started studying religious and church history. The sensation was such that crowds flocked to discourse with him. At four, soon after he learned to write, he died. The phenomenal mental ability of child prodigies and Adepts as well as the ability to recapture past life experiences is not the result of learning anything new. It is purely the facility to remember that few

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of us are gifted with. This point is explained later.

If you make a speech mistake ; if you forget a name or place ; if you carry out an erroneous action ; if you injure a finger or fall in the street ; then, depend on it, there are reasons for them to be so. Sigmund Freud has a mass of evidence to prove this with accuracy. Certain friends avoided Freud for fear that they would betray their innermost secrets even in a brief conversation. Freudians base their cures on psychoanalysis. However, Freud could regress the mind only up to birth and so had no clue to diseases and phobias acquired prior to birth. That disease is of the mind and that disease could be cured by the mind is the broader view.

Where the Psychologist failed the Hypnologist took over. The Hypnologist through age regression or tracing life from the present to hundreds or thousands of years back, has thrown a flood of light on so controversial a subject as re-birth. Re-birth today, is an established fact. The disturbing evidence found in such abundance cannot be lightly brushed off. In recent years Moray Burnstein, Bridey Murphy and Mrs. Naomi Henry have created world shaking news in this regard. Character traits, vocational abilities and historical epochs related to individuals who come under scrutiny from various parts of the world are found to be in complete harmony with the Psychology of Karma.

Plato, Vergil, Ovid, Giordano Bruno, Schelling, Leibnitz, Fichte, Emerson, Flannery, Carlyle, John Masefield, Gandhi and Tagore are some of the world intellectuals who have some form of belief in rebirth. Buddhism, Hinduism, Islam, Christianity,

Zoroastrianism and the Egyptian religion uphold similar beliefs. It would have induced more intellectual respectability, if the fact that the intellectuals of the world, together with more than half the population on the planet, believed in some form of rebirth, was better known. Materialism, theological rigidity, religious orthodoxy, ignorance, indifference, vested interests and other impediments bar our progress in these investigations. The sceptic who has the daring and the wherewithal to investigate is always overwhelmed by the mass of evidence and proof. Proof, today, is the only thing that matters.

One of the first books on rebirth to come from the West was Fielding Hall's "Soul of a People". Hall was an English Judge in Burma during the British conquest of that country. This splendid book details his personal investigations at first hand. The account first deals with those invisible beings called Nats, that inhabit trees and enchant forest and mountain worship such as the Worship of the Wheel or Dhamma Cakka ; and the Worship of the Sacred Bodhi Tree. One interesting scene sculptured on one of the panels is of great historical importance. It is a scene depicting the Emperor Asoka severing the right branch of the Great Bodhi Tree in Gaya, for the purpose of despatching it to Sri Lanka (Ceylon) through his daughter, the Theri Sanghamitta. On either side of the Bodhi Tree are seen the state officials and the army drawn up in array. King Asoka comes in state and alights from his horse and is conducted towards the Bodhi Tree. To the Buddhists of Sri Lanka (Ceylon) this sculptured panel is of special interest- and value. The graphic representation on the panel, provides a glimpse of the grandeur of the ceremony associated with

this event which is vividly described in the Mahavamsa. The record on the panel goes to establish the authenticity of an historical event in Sri Lanka (Ceylon), namely the planting of the Sacred Bodhi Tree at Anuradhapura which today is the oldest, known historical tree in the world, and which is a most precious object of worship to the entire Buddhist World, and a symbol of their faith.

"Sweet hour of meditation,
When oft there comes to me,
A vision of the Master,
Beneath the Bodhi Tree.

And with him in that vigil,
My spirit seems to share,
A foretaste of Nirvana,
Of Bliss beyond compare".

.....

"Be not like a stream that brawls,
Loud with shallow waterfalls;
But in quiet self-control,
Link together soul and soul."

—Longfellow.



INTRODUCTION

Djordje Kostic, Yugoslav poet and writer, is one of the founders of the Belgrade Surrealistic Group which was organised in 1929. Prior to its organisation, he published three issues of poetical texts together with his friends Oskar Davico and Djordje Jovanovic. All three publications have the same name, "Traces." His poems in these issues have now been translated into the English language under the same title as the original publications in Serbocroat. Djordje Kostic contributed to the activity of the Surrealistic Group through his multiple work, automatic texts, drawings, articles and critiques. During this period of his work he was mainly devoted to finding out new means for poetical researches in order to overbridge the space between subconsciousness and an adequate understanding of the reality which was prevailing in the revolutionary changes of so-called everyday life. Translations of Kostic's poems was not an easy venture because the surface meanings sometimes hide deeper layers of his poetical preoccupations.

Djordje Kostic has visited India many times in the last ten years and has published, among others, a book of poetry which he wrote in English with the title "Under Your Sky." The present translation of his poems will broaden the readers insight into some areas of Belgrade Surrealistic creativity and Surrealism in general. At the same time the reader will come into contact with the subtle poetical research which is increasingly preoccupying the modern poetical mind.

"Translated from Serbo-Croatian"
by
ALOKANANDA MITTER"

GRAIN OF BIRD

You stay,
only for light.
Eyes thorough words.

You look, what I do, inclinin g.
And quiet as water, like burning numbers,
you flow past,
and stay,
burning.

Hands, as you burn within me,
you take away, and are silent, alone.
You stay as silence
for yellow sprouting of those horizons I mow.

They bear away my face like murmur in tree-trunks.
Whither we stand this spreading of wishes ?
For dreams of plan.
At my back, green stacks of my beds,
of my white, of my warm linen.

Like-ranks for the whirlwind rustling
through leaves of head in these full rooms.
Full of plans, only plans.

Two hands I have
and with the right I can see,
and it approaches me in you.
My lakes like the sky for words of mine, the same,
Just words,
just the same.
With it I steer roads through dreams
and as joy I carry you.

I know it is none of mine but I see no other;
This darkness,
this abyss which entices,
as I echo through rooms.
Yet I carry the hand,
carry it still
Carry it,
let it carry itself.

The step gathers for me, around me .
How slowly horribly it sprouts !
And neither our word, nor our defence,
will cut its flow.

I carry my face through all tree-trunks, fertile,
and they bite me with their entire breathing.
I still have the strength to know that frightful thirst
which takes me away with each stretched hand.
A smile for knots which cannot be bent.

TODAY WHEN I PASSED MANGO TREE

**Just in the corner of the Barrackpore Trunk Road
I saw a man mahogany-like
Lying on the earth
Sleeping like a saint
Behind him a small temple shrine
Was hiding him from sunshine**

**When he got up
And opened his eyes
He suddenly realized
That there was no temple roof to protect him
That there was no groove to slide along in
That he is alone
Bare alone
Right alone
And that he has to fight**

Current Affairs

EARLY CANCER DETECTION

Australian medical researchers have developed a new concept for early detection of some cancers.

Professor Willem de Boer, of the Department of Laboratory Medicine and Surgery at Royal Southern Memorial Hospital in Melbourne, said the research team had made "fundamental observations" in cancer studies.

"During research into large bowel cancer we discovered an abnormal mucin substance which emerges after a transformation of the bowel lining, or mucosa, has occurred" he said. "It is the same form of mucin present in cancer. That early change is very significant."

"We have found this mucosa change is also found in the stomach and gall bladder ...it affects the whole intestinal tract. So there is a method of monitoring cancer, if we can demonstrate that mucin in the body, in fluids, stool or blood is abnormal."

"Mucins are also present in some ovarian tumours, and we believe the technique can determine which tumours are malignant."

"We would now like to translate the theoretical work into clinical tests. It might take several years to refine the technique for general use."

NEW HYBRID PRODUCED

A new hybrid animal, the goudad, has been produced at the University of Sydney.

The goudad is the result of a breeding program carried out by the university's Department of Animal Husbandry. So far only

two of the animals have been born, a male and a female.

The hybrid is the result of crossing the barbary sheep with the goat (the name goudad comes from combining goat with "auudad," the common name for the barbary sheep).

The male goudad is 3½ years old and the female six months. Each animal was produced by artificial insemination using semen taken from barbary sheep at Sydney's Taronga Zoo to fertilise goats from the university's research herd.

The pair of goudads will be used in an extensive breeding and cross-breeding program to increase the numbers of the hybrid. The progress and vigour of the two goudads born so far is seen by researchers at the university as a major success in the field of reproductive biology.

The male goudad is believed to be the first known hybrid of this type to be produced. A characteristic of the male goudad, which goes against the general rule for hybrids is that he is fertile. He has already produced an off-spring from a back-cross with a goat.

The male goudad was karyotyped (his blood analysed to determine chromosomal make-up) to confirm that he was a genuine hybrid.

The goudad hybrid has raised many questions for the research team which produced it. The team leader, Associate Professor Neil Moore, believes that when more of the animals are produced, the answers to questions will be obtained.

Several techniques already developed by the University of Sydney's animal husbandry department have been the basis for later developments in human reproductive biology. One example, the recent success of research on test tube babies in Australia was in part made possible by techniques developed by basic research at the University of Sydney.

—Sciences and Culture

WHY THIS ANATHEMA THEN ?

Union Energy Minister Shri A.B.A. Ghani Khan Chowdhury frequently in his speeches invites the private sector to enter into the field of power generation and to provide competition to the Public Sector. He is on record as saying, "power is the heart of the nation and we will not hesitate to take steps to remove the shortage." He is also on record as saying, "The Prime Minister is very keen to remove the shortage, we are determined to do so. Soon we will be able to put our house in order." Shri Khan Chowdhury's invitation to private Sector to enter into the field of power generation is, no doubt, a good gesture. If he is keen and sincere in his approach, he should simultaneously be liberal in spelling out the terms and conditions of the Government to allure the Private Sector to enter into the field of power generation and to provide healthy and honest competition to the Public Sector which is in a mess and far from satisfactory performance according to the need of the nation. Undoubtedly "power is the heart of the nation" but that "heart" instead of throbbing, has been sinking. It will go a long way in removing shortage of power if Private Sector is brought into the field of power generation side by

side with the Public Sector. It is, however, encouraging that the Government has realised the reality and feels that the Private Sector has also a role to play in the vital sector like power generation. Public Sector power generation agencies are obsessed more with political intrigues than power generation and it is a prudent decision of the Union Energy Minister to invite the Private Sector to enter into the field of power generation.

If the Private sector can be invited to enter into the field of power generation, why the anathema then to invite the Private sector to enter into the field of coal production ? The Public Sector inherited the coal mines from the Private Sector and has been cashing in on them in coal production. No new coal mines worth the name has come up so far since nationalisation though massive investment has been made in the nationalised coal sector. The much trumpeted improvement and development since nationalisation of coal could not so far bring any benefit to the common man—on the contrary, coal under Public Sector has gone beyond the reach of the common man. Its improvement and development has been negativated with abnormal rise in price and abysmal loss year after year. In this background New Delhi should shake off its ego and self-complacent attitude in regard to Public Sector coal industry and should invite the Private sector to open coal mines to augment coal production for the national interest.

In UK, coal was nationalised in 1947 and the National Coal Board was formed there to run the 1500 coalmines which earlier belonged to 800 private owners. National Coal Board, however, permitted the private owners to run as many as 400 small mines under

licence granted by the Board. If a small country like Great Britain allows 400 coal mines to be run by private owners, why, in a vast country like ours the Private Sector should not be involved in operating small mines in isolated regions not being worked by Coal India Limited? These small collieries can render very useful services to the community in the interior regions so far as the question of development of the regions is concerned. The local community in the regions will find employment avenues direct and indirect and, will have opportunity to augment their economic condition. In Chera-punjy area, coal mines are reportedly being worked like a cottage industry. In this far off area in Assam, Coal raising and selling have been a 'family affair.' They eke out their livelihood by opening small coal pockets adjacent to the localities and the entire families engage themselves in raising coal. In Bengal-Bihar coalfield areas. Illegal mining in small pockets is not uncommon and it has been a trying job for police to check it. Illegal mining is also yet another breeding ground for corruption. Viewed in these backgrounds, there should be no reason why the Public Sector will not be involved in coal production. If The Union Energy Minister can invite the Public Sector in the field of power generation, he should also invite the Private Sector in the field of coal production to provide competition with Public Sector coal industry for the greater interest of the nation.

—Coal Field Tribune

SALT YESTERDAY, TODAY AND TOMORROW

The opinion that the arms race allegedly is "the rivalry between the two super-powers"

seeking to reach the same goal, which is voiced in some parts of the world, is totally erroneous. The arms race was imposed on the world by the United States in an effort to gain first superiority and then world hegemony. The USSR is only pressing for an equilibrium, a balance of forces as a safeguard against aggression and is expressing readiness to reduce the level of armaments, up to and including general and complete disarmament.

The United States was compelled to open talks with the USSR, aimed at lessening the danger of nuclear war and limiting strategic nuclear arms. The talks, launched in 1969, got the name of SALT-1. The groundwork for the dialogue was laid by a number of international agreements, the most important among which were the Treaty Banning Nuclear Weapon Tests in the Atmosphere, in Outer Space and Under Water, signed in 1963, and the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, concluded in 1968.

The Weapons systems discussed were the land-based and sea-borne intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBM) and the anti-ballistic missile (ABM) systems. The United States objected to the inclusion of heavy bombers into the program of the talks clearly because, as the Pentagon's strategists had calculated, they could assure the US some superiority. The USSR accepted this condition so as not to frustrate the dialogue, with the understanding that aircraft would also come under restrictions in subsequent negotiations.

Two important agreements were signed in Moscow in May 1972 as a result of the Soviet-American talks that were started in November 1969: the Treaty between the USSR and the USA on the Limitation of AMB Systems and the Interim Agreement between the USSR and

the USA on Certain Measures with Respect to the Limitation of Strategic Offensive Arms.

Under the AMB Treaty, which is of unlimited duration, the Soviet Union and the United States undertook not to deploy anti-ballistic missile systems in their territories and to restrict themselves to two ABM complexes(x) and an agreed number of ABM launchers.

The importance of the treaty lay in the fact that it removed the incentive for upgrading strategic offensive nuclear arms and equipping missiles with devices enabling them to penetrate the enemy's ABM defences.

The other document, the Interim Agreement, concluded for a period of five years, imposed certain quantitative and qualitative limitations on stationary ICBM launchers, submarine-launched ballistic missile (SLBM) launchers and the most modern ballistic missile submarines.

The question of control over the observance of the treaties was successfully solved when the sides agreed that it would be carried out with the help of the national technical means of verification at their disposal. A corresponding conciliatory body of control was also set up.

It must be stressed that the ABM Treaty and the Interim Agreement were based on the principle of equal security of the sides, on an approximate parity. These documents, which did not infringe in any way on the interests of other countries, had a favourable impact on the international situation by defusing tension. On the whole, these talks and accords were a landmark in the efforts to remove the nuclear danger.

When the term of the Interim Agreement expired in October 1977, each of the sides, seeking to maintain the status quo, declared its intention not to undertake any actions

x) The additional protocol of 1974 limited the sides to one ABM complex.

incompatible with the provisions of the Interim Agreement until the talks are completed and the new agreement signed, provided the other side displayed similar restraint.

ON THE WAY TO SALT-2

In early 1970s, the SALT-1 accords combined with other agreements, which preceded or followed them, consolidated the foundations of international detente. The signing in 1971 of a Soviet-US treaty on measures to reduce the risk of outbreak of nuclear war between the USSR and the USA became an important practical contribution to lessening the military danger looming large over the world. The SALT process continued and had good prospects.

A working meeting between Leonid Brezhnev and US President Gerald Ford took place in Vladivostok in November 1974. They reached an understanding that ushered in a new stage in the solution of the problem of limiting strategic arms because it opened a possibility for the new agreement to cover additional components of the two countries' strategic forces. The main purport of the Vladivostok accord was that the main parameters of the new agreement, envisaged a mutually acceptable balance of interests of the sides in the given field, with due consideration for the specifics of the strategic situation.

Maintaining the SALT-2 dialogue, the USSR continued, as before, its efforts, aimed at curbing the arms race and ensuring disarmament outside these talks.

However the American side displayed a biased approach to the limitation of strategic arms designed to benefit the United States to the detriment of the Soviet Union's security. All this slowed down the SALT-2 process, dragging out the drawing up and signing of the new treaty.

The United States at the same time continued the arms race and forced its NATO allies to adopt a long-term armaments programme at the May 1978 session in Washington. This happened exactly at a time when the United Nations General Assembly was holding its special session on disarmament in New York.

The preparation of the SALT-2 Treaty, nevertheless, was in the centre of all talks the USSR was conducting with the United States at the time.

After the Carter Administration had taken office in the US, Cyrus Vance, the New Secretary of State, came to Moscow early in 1977, bringing fresh SALT proposals.

The Treaty between the USSR and the USA on the Limitation of Strategic Offensive Arms was finally signed in Vienna on June 18, 1979, as a result of talks between the head of the Soviet state Leonid Brezhnev and US President Jimmy Carter. The Treaty is a thoroughly worked out reasonable compromise, based on the principle of equality and equal security, and can be reliably verified.

The Treaty's international significance lies in the fact that its entry into force would open the way to further, even more effective disarmament moves within the framework of the SALT-3 talks. Besides, it would create a stimulus for a more rapid advance at negotiations on other questions of restraining the arms race in general and the nuclear arms race in particular.

The SALT-2 Treaty set equal maximum limits for the nuclear weapon delivery vehicles of the two countries and provided for a reduction of the existing nuclear arms. With the aim of lessening the threat posed by the qualitative arms race, the Treaty imposed substantial restrictions on the modernisation of strategic offensive arms and the development

of new weapons systems.

The full implementation of the Treaty and related protocols, signed in Vienna, would promote stronger detente and a better international political climate.

But the road to the Treaty's entry into force (ratification) was obstructed from the outset. At the request of the federal government, the US Senate put off indefinitely the Treaty's ratification under various farfetched pretexts. This was done notwithstanding the fact that the Treaty had received broad support in all peace-loving states and had been welcomed as an important contribution to detente and disarmament. Broad public sectors condemned and most of Washington's allies expressed negative reaction to the shelving of the SALT-2 Treaty by President Carter, who either failed or did not want to break the resistance of the "hawks".

SALT : OUTLOOK FOR TOMORROW

The Salt problem, "inherited" by Ronald Reagan from Jimmy Carter in the form of the "frozen" ratification of a signed treaty, apparently suited the new Administration, which had voiced disagreement with the SALT-2 Treaty and the SALT process in general in its election statements, perfectly in that form. In view of the Reaganite's obsession about "America's re-armament," which runs counter to the Treaty's letter and spirit, it was no wonder that the Treaty was looked upon as an annoying obstacle to the efforts to gain military supremacy.

When realised, Washington's newly-adopted big military programmes, which drew unprecedented budgetary outlays of 1.5 trillion dollars for the next five years, will go far beyond the framework of restrictions imposed by the SALT-2 Treaty. The huge militarist drive is being pushed ahead

under the hackneyed pretext of "Soviet Superiority."

—USSR Consulate

A.C. SHAHUL HAMEED : "IT WAS A SUCCESSFUL VISIT"

Over a brief term of his official visit to the Soviet Union, The Foreign Minister of Sri Lanka A.C. Shahul Hameed, met prominent Soviet statesmen, negotiated with Minister of Foreign Affairs Andrei Gromyko and covered thousands of miles to familiarise himself with the life and work of Soviet people and admired historical monuments of Leningrad, Tashkent, Samarkand and Bukhara.

A.C. Shahul Hameed expressed confidence that the meetings and talks in Moscow would stimulate the further development of relations between the Soviet Union and Sri Lanka, applying not only to trade, economic, scientific and technical relations, to the sphere of culture, education and sport, but to foreign politics as well.

Of course, there are certain differences in Soviet and Lankan foreign policies explained by a number of historical and present-day factors. But in the final analysis, despite the wish of the opponents of Soviet-Lankan friendship, this discrepancy does not determine the foreign policy aspects of relations between the two countries. They are influenced, above all, by Moscow's and Colombo's similar positions on the basic issues of the drive for peace and the elimination of the remaining hot spots and the campaign against imperialism and colonialism. The Soviet-Lankan dialogue in Moscow confirmed this.

The ministers, point out the joint Soviet-Lankan communique, noted with satisfaction that both the Soviet Union and Sri Lanka hold similar positions on cardinal problems

of the peace issue. They expressed concern over the deterioration of the international situation in the recent period. The USSR and Sri Lanka see eye to eye as to the necessity in the current conditions of making efforts by all the states, big and small, in the interests of weakening war threat, consolidating international security, curbing the arms race, above all, the build up of nuclear missiles, and implementing effective measures in the field of disarmament.

As to the results of the Moscow talks, they can be summed up like this :

Firstly, the Moscow negotiations confirmed the states' desire to further develop the entire complex of Soviet-Lankan relations. Secondly, they are significant for the struggle in weakening international tensions, for peace and peoples' security.

It is quite obvious, for instance, that the steady even character of relations between the USSR and Sri Lanka tells favourably on the general situation in Asia. According to the joint Soviet Lankan communique, when touching upon the situation in the region, the Ministers insisted on the settlement of disputable questions by negotiations on the principles of peaceful co-existence and urged mutually-advantageous cooperation between Asian states.

It is equally evident that mutual understanding between the Soviet Union and Sri Lanka contributes to a closer interaction of socialist and non-aligned states.

Mutual understanding between the Soviet Union and many non-aligned states is becoming deeper. The Soviet Union favours more extensive cooperation with the non-aligned movement on the international scene. A.C. Shahul Hameed was told that the Soviet side held in respect Sri Lanka's policy of non-alignment. The Soviet leaders praised the non-aligned movement as an important

factor of peaceable policy, its contribution to the consolidation of universal peace, to the struggle against imperialism, colonialism, racism and all forms of discrimination in international relations.

Issued by the Information Department of the USSR Consulate General in Calcutta

THE GOAL IS EUROPEAN UNITY

The following are excerpts from an article by Federal Foreign Minister Genscher on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the signing of the Treaties of Rome :

"A quarter of a century ago, on 25th March 1957, six European countries joined together under the Treaties of Rome "determined to lay the foundations of an ever closer union of the peoples of Europe" as it is formulated in the preamble of the treaty founding the European Economic Community.

"On 25 January, 1982, exactly two months prior to the 25th anniversary of the Treaties of Rome, the foreign ministers of the Community Of Ten in a third attempt failed to fulfil their mandate for financial and agricultural reform and to reach an agreement on a reasonable balance of interests. This was a day of profound disappointment for the German Foreign Minister but not a cause for discouragement. On the contrary, this day once again showed the urgency and necessity of determined action in reviving the strength of the European movement, pushing ahead in the direction of European unity, and calling to mind the motivation and political purpose behind the Treaties of Rome, i.e., to bring about greater unity among the people of Europe."

COMMUNITY BASED ON SOLIDARITY

"The European idea can certainly not become reality in a 'community of lions', in which everyone is in pursuit of his own maximum benefit. Europe will not be the sum of national egoisms. It can only be realised as a community based on solidarity. We should take care not to attach a label of pathos-filled solemnity to this ideal. I am fully aware that this alone is no answer to everyday political problems. But there is also no reason to be ashamed of the European ideal and to hide behind the neutrality of objective necessities whose pragmatic advocates may be judged in terms of their own success.

"The European Community is faced with the challenge of mastering the most difficult economic situation since its founding. Political and economic pressures appear to be stronger than ever before and it has become harder than ever before to deal with the necessity of arriving at joint solutions. The European idea is no longer a vibrant concept in the minds of our peoples. It has perhaps been degraded to the level of a somewhat annoying established notion, and I foresee the danger that we may lose our citizens approval of this established notion.

"To be sure, we have continued beyond the Economic Community. We have set up the goal of achieving European Unity. With the direct election of the European Parliament we have moved ahead on the road towards a democratic and constitutional community. We have made considerable progress in developing a common European foreign policy. I wonder how much of this is really alive in the minds of Europeans, from Copenhagen to Naples and from Berlin to Dublin. I am afraid that a much darker

image of Europe has established itself in the minds of our citizens characterized by farm production surpluses, budgetary problems and financial book keeping.

"All of these problems exist, are urgent matters on our agenda of action, and, must be solved. However, they can only be solved, and this is my conviction, if we keep in mind the significance and aim of our co-operation i.e., the political unification of Europe. No one is able to nor wants to talk away the political and economic problem at hand. But we must keep our common goal clearly in view. We will only be able to deal successfully with the everyday political problems of the Community when we have learned to look beyond our immediate needs.

"For this reason we have taken the initiative and in agreement with the Italian Government we have presented a proposal for discussion as to how the Community ought to be further developed on the road towards European unity. The basic outlines of this proposal are known. For more than a year now I have described them publicly in numerous speeches and declarations, in particular before the European Parliament.

This initiative for a European Act is intended to revive the idea of European political unification. It will create for all areas of cooperation a general framework consisting of what has already been attained. It is designed to make full use of the possibilities for further development contained in it and to provide ideas on including new areas of activity.

We have made considerable progress in this Community, the Community as a whole and every individual country in it. In this context I would like to say that I see the Federal Republic of Germany as being a 'net bene-

ficiary' in its ability to act in foreign policy matters. Our initiative is aimed at more firmly establishing and further expanding what has already been attained in the Community. We know that we can only preserve what has been achieved by making constant efforts at further development in an international situation characterized by crisis and in view of menacing economic trends. I would like to recall the words of Walter Hallstein, a sober legal expert and committed European who in March 1957 prior to the signing of the Treaties of Rome states in the German Bundestag (Federal Parliament) that the close cooperation of the countries of Europe is probably the last chance for our survival, the securing of our free existence, our economic prosperity, and our social progress."

—German News

EXCERPT FROM U.S. AMBASSADOR BARNES MEETING WITH THE INDIAN PRESS

....."Why is it that we as Americans, we as Indians, seem to get along so well on a personal level, and yet our countries, our Governments, can't seem to do as well?...

Some Indian friends have told me that we Americans seem to have an ability to give India what it doesn't want, and not give India what it does. For example, they say, "You give F-16s to Pakistan, we don't want those... We want fuel for our reactors in Tarapur, but you don't give that. We want a loan from the IMF, but you don't approve of that."

In all fairness I must say that if one takes that view point, it does appear that there may be some truth in the statement that is some-

times made—that the United States has an anti-India bias or the United States is tilted against India.

But...it is often said that appearances are deceiving, and I think here the appearances of Indo-American relations prove that saying in many respects. One can't understand the sale of American arms to Pakistan at this period without understanding the American reaction to the Soviet invasion and continuing occupation of Afghanistan. One can't understand the dispute over fuel for Tarapur without understanding the depth of feelings in the United States on the question of non-proliferation. And one can't understand the American attitude toward the IMF loan without knowing something about the economic problems our country is now facing....

I have been talking so far about problems. But...I have the job, as I see it, to try to help identify those areas where there are already, or can be, long term common interests between the United States and India.

.....Both India and the United States. I believe, have an interest in stability in this part of the world and therefore an interest in a Stable Pakistan. And both India and the United States have an interest in developing a world system that meets the needs of developing countries.

I think for all the attention that is properly and rightly paid to the questions on which we have differing approaches, we don't talk as much as we should about those areas where we do continue to work effectively together...I would cite three examples which center around three occasions—in December a meeting of the Indo U.S. Subcommittee on Science and Technology, in early February a meeting of the Indo U.S. Subcommittee on Education and Culture and earlier this week the meeting of the Indo U.S. Subcom-

mission for Economic and Commercial Relations.

It seems to me, therefore, that we do have common ideals, we do have at least some common interests, and we do have the experience of being able to work well and effectively together. Therefore, I cannot accept the assertion that the United States is anti-India any more than I can accept the assertion I sometimes hear in my own country that India is Anti-United States.

It seems to me in addition, understandable that the United States might want to have good relations with both India and Pakistan just as India might want to have good relations with both the USSR and the United States. But because we do have important values in common, most important of which is a commitment to a democratic society—neither one of us makes any secret of our preference on that score—it does make it possible for us to try to identify more conscientiously, what interests we also have in common.

(Regarding) "the observation...that the Supply of arms to Pakistan should be seen in the context of the events in Afghanistan... will it set into motion a process which will culminate in the withdrawal of the Russian troops from Afghanistan?"

"The fundamental thing to bear in mind here is that if it had not been for the Soviet invasion and the continued occupation of Afghanistan, you would not find the American Government engaged in this military supply arrangement with Pakistan.

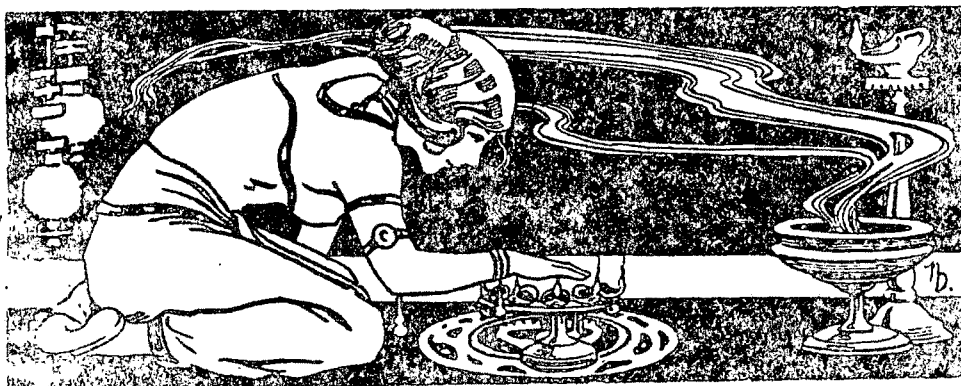
In our judgement, the Soviet Union through its actions in Afghanistan has moved the Soviet border to the border of Pakistan... And that I think is a key difference that's got to be borne in mind all the time when one looks at the arms supply....

...We have had, perhaps as much as any one else, for better or for worse, a number of years of experience with the USSR. In our judgement the Soviet Union is a sort of Country which will take advantage of situations that look promising from their standpoint and will take actions which, at least in the judgement of much of the rest of the world, often are extreme. I continue parenthetically, to find it hard to understand just what it is the Soviet Union wants in Afghanistan. It they were not satisfied, with the type of Government that existed before Soviet troops went in, what do they need now? But that's a parenthesis.

But precisely because the Soviet Union does tend to take the sort of interpretation

it does about what constitutes its security, that is, whatever is on its border could constitute a threat to its security, we think there is a potential danger that with the border having been removed in effect to the Khyber Pass, an unstable Pakistan could begin to look to the Soviet Union as if that were a complication, a danger to Soviet security. And therefore, what we can do in terms of helping stabilize the situation in Pakistan can, we think, have an effect on the Soviet Union. It can help the Soviets understand that they can't go any farther than they have and ought to begin thinking somewhat more seriously if they should remain in Afghanistan.

—Span



THE LAND OF THE MIDNIGHT SUN

GOUR MOHAN DAS DE

In my school days I read a wellknown fiction, 'Thelma' once, written by a famous Norwegian authoress, Marie Corelli. The love story of the Norwegian princess Thelma of the land of the Midnight Sun enchanted me so much that I wished to visit that country sometime in the future. I could not help loving Thelma who was as exquisite as love itself. Sometimes I used to imagine that one day I might have a friendly talk with one of the descendents of this princess sitting under the midnight sun.

I knew that this could not be fulfilled in my life-time. But hope brought success and one day this wish was fulfilled in my life-time almost forty years later.

I was doing private practice in Malayasia from 1951. When I left that country and settled at Kalyani, Nadia for good, I planned to visit a few countries with my wife. I arranged everything with Air India at Calcutta. Among the countries I first earmarked was Norway, the Land of the Midnight Sun in my itinerary.

On 21st May, 1971 I left India via Delhi to Moscow, then to Helsinki, Finland, and then to Stockholm, Sweden. Sitting in the lounge of the airport of Stockholm I asked myself, "Is it possible that I will meet one of the descendents of my beloved Thelma?"

My imagination took me to that unknown country for how long I do not know but suddenly my day dreams were broken when the loudspeaker of the airport requested us to board the scheduled plane for

Oslo, the capital of Norway. The time was 18.50

After almost an hour we landed at Oslo, the Land of the Midnight Sun. Its sweet and cold breeze thrilled me. It was almost daytime as the sun was shining from above. After completing all the paraphernalia at the airport of Oslo we took the airport bus for the city. The Air-India officials in Calcutta already had booked in a room in Hotel Norland for us, and our hotel was not too far from the city air office. We could walk and save our Valuable dollars, but could not do it as my wife had fallen sick at Moscow airport. So we had to take a taxi to our hotel. Most of the taxis here were new Mercedes cars.

We were dog-tired as we had seen most of the sights of Stockholm that day before boarding the plane for Oslo. My sick wife immediately went to bed without changing her dress and I entered the bath room straight to bathe in the bathtub full of tepid water. It was nearly eight o'clock at that time. The sun was still visible. It was peeping through the clouds possibly on the verge of setting. We could see the clouded sky and hear the sound of the thunderstorm. It was drizzling outside.

I came out from the bath room. It was then half past eight. I did not feel cold though we were warned at Stockholm that Oslo would be very cold at that time.

It was Friday, 28th May. After I dressed myself in warm clothes I went out in search of food as I knew that dinner at the hotel would be very costly. Almost all the shops

Dr. Gour Mohon Das De (lived in currently, of Kalyani, West Bengal) Malaya both as an Army Captain during the Second World War and later as a member of the Malayan Medical Service A World Traveller. He is the author of several novels, short stories, travelogues, children's stories and magazine articles.

In that locality were closed at that hour of the night though the sun was still peeping through the clouds. The street lights were on. I had experienced this situation a few days ago. In Helsinki we were out to see the city at 9 o'clock at night when there was daylight and the sun was shining. We alighted from the bus and moved here and there though we saw that all the shops and offices were closed. Before we alighted from the bus, the bus driver warned us not to go too far as the last bus would leave that place at 10-30 p.m. So we loitered here and there and returned to the bus stand where we waited for the last bus.

There were very few people on the main road. A few couples, the young and the aged were waiting with us for the last bus. Nearly at 10 P.M. a slow and steady darkness suddenly began to creep up and within a few minutes it engulfed all of us. With it came waves of very cold wind making us shiver and we felt as if something was pricking us with its thousand stings. We were in a proper fix. On the other side we saw young and old couples embracing, dancing and kissing each other in front of us. We felt very embarrassed and puzzled at their behaviour. I came to understand later that these sort of embracing, dancing and kissing were not love making. They were doing this to make themselves warm.

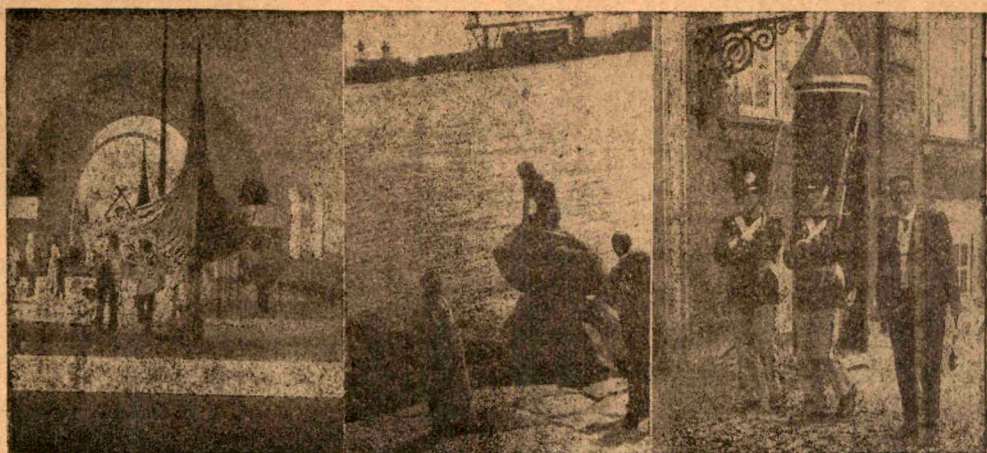
After we returned to our hotel, we went to bed. Hardly had we slept for a couple of hours when the ravens began to crow and when I peeped through the window I saw to my amazement that the sun had appeared again with its full glow at the dead of night. This was the situation throughout all the Scandinavian countries. For this reason the windows and the glass doors were covered thoroughly with heavy and thick curtains to

darken the rooms.

Luckily at that time in Oslo a couple of shops were kept open and there were many customers standing in queues. Everyone was in a hurry. When my turn came I bought one tin of jam, a tin of butter, a long french loaf and a few apples with the help of sign language. The Norwegian money, kroner, I held, had been changed at Oslo airport. The money-changers in the airports and the hotels of all the countries always give lesser amounts than the banks. It is better for the tourists to change their money in the bank and to learn a few essential words of the languages of the countries in which they travel. As in Norway and in all other Scandinavian countries Saturday is a holiday so we could not change our money at the bank.

I returned immediately to the hotel, and ordered two cups of hot tea. After taking tea both of us felt fresh and strong. But when the bill was given to us we were shocked and dumfounded. They cost us one and a half US dollars. Though tea was very expensive in the European countries coffee was cheap.

Next day was Saturday, 29th May. At 7 A.M. I got up from bed and peeped towards downtown through the window. The road was wet and the rain water stagnant in some places. It was the last day of our stay here as on 30th May our hotel in Copenhagen was already booked. So we would have to take all the tours on that day. In every hotel the managers used to provide our tour tickets and the tourist buses used to come to pick us up from there. But here it was otherwise. The hotel manager asked me to go and buy our tickets from the tourist office which was a mile away from there. So I had to go to there to buy the tickets from the tourist office of BatSERVICE sightseeing A-S. Most of the people here did not know English. It was



Osborg Ship of Vikings of Oslo

very difficult for the tourists. I secured a map of the town from the hotel manager who earmarked the tourists office on the map. There were buses and tram cars on the road but I preferred to walk and see the places with my own eyes though it was drizzling at that time. On my way I saw that all the offices, supermarkets and other shops were totally closed; only a few coffee shops were kept open and a few customers were there. On either side of the road there were thousands of tiny yellow flowers on unknown tall trees lying there making it look like a yellow carpet. It was very pleasing to my eyes. Several people while passing had been looking at me, As I wished them, they returned my greetings. I wanted to talk to them in English, some of them stopped and tried to understand what I said. But others just went away and while passing, they informed me by sign language that they could not understand my language.

At last I met a German student who could understand and talk a little English. He took me in the correct direction towards the tourist office. While walking he told me that he had come to study in Oslo University

with a Norwegian scholarship. But in fact he felt very bad when he first joined the University. He did not know their language so he could not make friends with anybody. He was taught their language for a few months and then it was easy for him to make friends with the students. He also told me that students should visit different countries of the world if possible, to gain experience, knowledge and wisdom. Before leaving me he showed me the office and we bade good-bye to each other.

I met the right man in that office who informed me about two-sightseeing tours. The first one was the tour in fjord by motor boat and the other was a historical and city tour. The charge of both tours was kroner 130 equivalent to Rs. 130 and the cost of lunch was US 2 dollars per head. He also informed me that I should go to the Oslo harbour opposite City Hall where I could buy the tickets. He advised me again that I should be there as early as possible because many American tourists had already arrived there. The tour would start from that harbour at 10 A.M. sharp.

I hurriedly arrived at my hotel and we had our breakfast. My wife became refreshed after food and coffee. We took rest for half an hour and taking our handbags and cameras we started walking towards the harbour.

We reached the City Hall at 9-30 A.M. but my wife did not proceed further because she wanted to rest.

I had to run towards the harbour to get the tickets. There was a long queue in the harbour. Most of them were American tourists and a few Europeans with their wives—young and old. They were laughing and cutting jokes with each other.

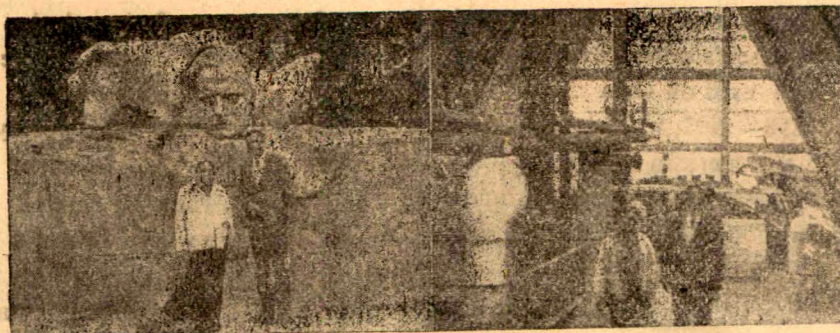
I bought two tickets for us. I gestured to my wife to come quickly. She saw me and walked slowly towards the harbour. The motor boat was a new one and the arrangement there was excellent. We took our seats one by one under the clear blue sky. It had been drizzling in the morning but had now stopped. The sun was very bright but the morning was a very soothing one as the cool breeze were blowing gently. It was a cold day but not too cold. We had put on warm clothes. The American and the European tourists had put on summer dresses. There was no canopy over us. It was open and the rays of the sun were directly hitting us. In the clear sky there were a few dark and white clouds.

Our boat was passing very slowly by the side of the harbour and the tourists including myself were taking snaps and movie pictures of the scenery there. We were very busy at that time. Suddenly a woman's voice pierced our ears. She came forward and welcomed us to the Land of the Midnight Sun. She was Miss Christe, our guide for that day—she told us. I moved my eyes towards her. I felt at that time that one of the descendants of my long awaited Thelma stood in front of

me, whom I had longed to see since school days. She was not a teenager but a young lady of 24 to 25 years old. She was tall and pretty, had blue eyes a pink complexion and a sweet smile. A plait of long brown hair was hanging behind her. She was exceptionally beautiful with grace and loveliness and had indomitable energy, patience and perseverance. She was dressed like a viking lady of the ninth century. She spoke both in English and French and explained the historical and geographical backgrounds of her country.

Miss Christe showed us the biggest City Hall in her country and informed us that it had been built on the occasion of the completion of the ninehundredth years festival which fell in the year 1950. Inside the City Hall many old historical antiques were kept. The building had been decorated by Norway's leading painters and sculptors.

Next our boat was passing by the side of a fishing port where fishermen were very busy catching fish. They were very clever at their job. Plenty newly caught fish were in their nets. We praised the fishermen for their efficient work. Though we were happy to see their catch the place was so filthy and foul-smelling that we asked our guide to leave the place as soon as possible. Our boat moved in a different direction. Miss Christe informed us that their clever job did not help their countrymen in any way. The people of her country could not taste the fish as this catch was mainly for export purposes for earning dollars from other countries. Fish was very costly in Norway. They preferred meat to fish. The rich people could eat fish but not the common people. At that time my mind went back to my countrymen. The farmer who toiled throughout the day under the scorching sun has hardly a mouthful of food. They sweat and they toil but



Writer and his wife
in Helsinki

Writer and his wife
on the ship FRAM

in return they get nothing. I came to the conclusion that the poor are always poor everywhere and I saw this in the course of my travelling also.

Our boat was passing through every corner of the fjords which are the long narrow arms of sea between cliffs. There were many small islands where rich men had built their bungalows with flower gardens in front. The soothing rays of the sun turned into a scorching heat which was unbearable. The wives of the Europeans, and the Americans had put their coloured scarfs over their heads to protect themselves from the scorching heat of the sun. My wife had covered her head with the border of her sari. The American tourists praised my wife for her beautiful sari. They had their different types and different coloured hats which they put on their heads. And I myself was compelled to cover my head with my handkerchief. We were very thirsty. My wife ordered coffee and I had a coke. It cost a lot. Some of the Americans ordered coffee coke and chocolate but some others did not order anything as they thought it costly.

I was sitting between my wife and a young Britisher who was not talking with anybody and seemed to be very shy. I had to talk with him as a matter of courtesy but my wife forbade me in our language to talk with him

about the politics of England. She was very afraid of my frank political talks.

I had a talk with him about the progressive ideas of the modern young men of his country. I also asked him whether they were still the same as their ancestors.

He replied that the modern youngsters of the United Kingdom were not like their ancestors. They were against the conservative ideas of the old Britishers. He advised me to visit his country, its young energetic boys, and the present conditions there. Then I could understand the change fully.

Our boat had passed a few small islands, Hovedoya, Blekoya, Gressholt and Langoya and was moving towards the Bygdoy Peninsula where the Fram and the Kontiki museums were situated. The Bygdoy Peninsula was the natural head quarters of Oslo's rowing and yachting fans and in addition this summer paradise offered a number of attractions of world fame.

From the motor boat when I saw the Fram museum, I thought that it was a large factory building, So I asked Miss Christe about details of that factory and its production. On hearing my question she laughed at me and said that it was not a factory, it was the Fram museum where the polar

expedition ship Fram was kept. This vessel built for Fridtjof Nansen's polar expedition in 1893-1896, was also used on Otto Sverdrup's expedition in 1898-1902, when large areas of the north of the American continent were explored; later it was used by Ronald Amundsen on his expedition to the South Pole in 1910-1912.

This ship Fram accidentally came floating on the water of Oslo fjorden and stood still near the present museum site. The inhabitants of Oslo were very happy to see the ship Fram. They took their decision immediately. With their labour and activities they dragged it on the land of Bygdoy Peninsula just by the side of the sea. Afterwards they built a huge building to house that ship. Its roof was built in a triangular shape. Its maintenance was carried out with entrance fees from the visitors.

We left the boat and followed our guide. There were not many tourists with us as some of them left after the fjord tour. Our guide took us to the Fram museum and paid the entrance fees before we entered. In the front gate of the museum two dead stuffed white polar bears were kept, one on each side. We entered. Before we went on the upper deck and its cabin we walked by the side of the ship below. There were many photos of the activities of Nansen, Amundsen and their sailors in their different working positions hanging on every wall. After seeing those interesting and beautiful photos we went on the upper deck walking up an old staircase. We found there the old mast and the various kinds of ropes of that ship used during those expeditions. They were not damaged at all. They were beautifully preserved. Miss Christie was very friendly with my wife and they had a nice time there. I saw them laughing and gossiping. I took several photos of them and some

interesting parts of the deck. Our guide took us next to the kitchen where we saw an old oven and its chimney and the utensils for cooking, all of them were deeply blackened with soot and there was a dinner set on the kitchen table. Then we entered the dining room of the ship where we saw a few models dressed in officers' warm uniforms, sitting around the dining table. They were put in such a way that they looked as if they were talking to each other and having their dinner. The food of models were also kept there. Next we entered the captain's cabin where similar figures of the captain and the officers sat around a table in such a way as if they were discussing their expedition. A large map lay open on the table in front of them. We saw the appearances of their faces. Some of them were thinking deeply, some of them were discussing with their captain and one of them was sketching over the map with a pencil and his friends were helping him in doing his job.

At last we went down to the engine room below where the models of the driver, the engineers and the sailors were kept in such a way as if they were very busy with their own jobs. Some of them were repairing the engine while others were throwing coal into the furnace. As we came out of the great ship we had a feeling that we had gone to the remotest parts of the World and had joined the explorers in these activities in their ship, the famous polar expedition ship Fram. It was so lifelike an experience! We were very happy to see the past activities of the polar expeditions in that old ship Fram.

At a few yards distance from the Fram museum we saw a beautifully built little house with picturesque scenery behind. This little house was the Kon-Tiki museum. Inside this house the renowned Kon-Tiki raft was

kept. This raft was built with Balsa tree. It was floating on a large water tank. Beneath the raft there were several models of sharks, other sea creatures and different kinds of sea plants of the Pacific ocean. There were several photos of the different activities of Norway-born Thor Heyerdahl and his five companions. They drifted across the Pacific ocean from Peru to Polynesia. The expedition lasted for 101 days and their raft Kon-Tiki sailed nearly 4300 miles during this period.

The Kon-Tiki expedition was organised by Thor Heyerdahl to prove that the aboriginal people from south America (Pre-Inca Indian) could have reached Polynesian islands with the aid of their balsa raft. These trees are still found in the forests of Ecuador, Peru in South America. But scientists had concluded before that this type of raft used by the Pre-Inca Indians were not suitable for ocean voyages and Pre-Inca Indians could not have populated Polynesian countries. Only the Asiatic races could do it. So the Kon-Tiki expedition started on 28th April, 1947 from Callao in Peru by six persons. They were Thor Heyerdahl, Knut Haugland, Bengt Danielsson, Erik Hasselferg, Torstein Raaby and Herman Watzinger. It took 101 days to reach the coral island, Raroia in Polynesia. They had to row 4300 miles day and night on that dangerous mission. They suffered great difficulties and several calamities during their voyage. Sometimes they were attacked by dangerous sharks. The name of the

raft was Kon-Tiki. Kon was the legendary Polynesian Sun-god and his wife Tiki of the Pre-Inca Indian ages.

They depicted the pictures of Kon and Tiki on the mast of their raft. They thought the Polynesian god and goddess would help them during their dangerous voyage.

In that museum there were a few models of archaeological finds from the expedition to Galapagos and models of the reed boat and the secret family cave of Easter Island.

The Galapagos expedition set out in 1953 to determine whether anybody went there prior to their discovery by Europeans in 1533. It was found that these remote and waterless islands had been visited by peoples from the ancient civilisations of South America. The expedition found traces of four ancient Indian settlements and the finds included the shreds of no less than 131 Indian earthenware vessels identical with the special pottery which generally used to be made in Peru and Ecuador before the arrival of Europeans.

The Easter Island expedition which had occurred in 1955-1956, found the giant stone statues where the Pre-Inca Indians used to live right up to the 14th century. They found the secret family caves containing lava sculptures of a type which were unknown to the world.

(To be Continued)



Indian and Foreign Periodicals

USSR-INDIA : COOPERATION OF SCIENTISTS

Scientific and technical cooperation today stands out prominently in the complex of Soviet-Indian many-sided relations. Both sides—realising the importance of joint work by scientists from different countries for the development of both fundamental and applied sciences, as well as for a more effective utilisation of the results of scientific research for the needs of the economy and technical progress—attach great importance to this trend of cooperation.

After the establishment of diplomatic relations between our countries 35 years ago the first inter-governmental agreements on economic cooperation and trade were signed. Under these agreements such major industrial enterprises as the steel plants in Bhilai and Bokaro, the machine-building plant in Durgapur, oil refineries in Koyali and Barauni, the heavy machine-building plant in Ranchi and many others were built with Soviet technical assistance. To train Indian national personnel the Soviet Union directly participated in establishing research and educational institutes in India, such as the Institute of Technology in Bombay, the Faculty of Metallurgy in Kharagpur, the Faculty of Geophysics in Hyderabad, the Faculty of Automation and Computer Technology in Bangalore and some technical schools. At the same time more than 1,400 Indian graduates from Soviet higher schools became engineers, doctors, teachers, agronomists and economists. Today about 700 Indian students study at Soviet institutes and universities.

Of great importance for the promotion of Soviet-Indian relations was the Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Cooperation signed in August 1971. It put the development and expansion of Soviet-Indian contacts practically in all spheres on a firm basis of international law. The subsequent signing of inter-governmental agreements on cooperation in science and technology, agriculture, the peaceful uses of atomic energy, medicine and public health, as well as agreements in the field of atmospheric sounding by rockets, space research and scientific exchange have determined the basic trends of joint research by the scientists of both countries.

In continuation of this long-term programme the two countries signed a programme of concrete joint research for 1980-1983, providing for investigations to be conducted in 11 directions, including the uses of solar energy, MHD-generators, protection of metals from corrosion, powder metallurgy, building materials, housing construction, meteorology and others. Forty Soviet research institutions and 26 Indian institutes and laboratories participate in this programme.

Firm and fruitful contacts have been established between the USSR Academy of Sciences and the Indian National Science Academy. The fields of cooperation between the two Academies include hydrogeology, geochemistry, forecasting of earthquakes, physics, mathematics, astronomy, genetics, deep seismic sounding, etc.

Joint work by meteorologists, their partici-

pation in the Monex programme have helped enrich science with new facts and make long-term and short-term weather forecasts more reliable, which is of great importance for agriculture. Of special significance for India is the work on studying monsoons since the development of its agriculture depends, to a considerable extent, on monsoon rains. Therefore it is hard to overestimate the importance of joint investigations carried out by means of meteorological rockets from the Thumba equatorial rocket-launching station. From there Soviet M-100 rockets are regularly launched into the upper layers of the atmosphere to collect data on the temperature of these layers, air flows and so on, in other words, on the factors influencing the formation of monsoons. Bilateral cooperation in agriculture has started from the first years of the formation of the Republic of India. The first state mechanised farm in Suratgarh was fitted out in 1956 with Soviet equipment given to India gratis. The success of this farm made it possible to organise several such farms in different states of the country.

The USSR sent to India 250 heads of Astrakhan sheep, thus laying the foundations for the development of this branch in that country. Scientists from both countries exchange samples of seeds, as well as scientific and technical information obtained as a result of investigations. Today they work to breed new high-yielding varieties of grain and technical crops, to control soil salinity as well as in the field of livestock breeding and land reclamation.

Soviet-Indian cooperation in space research is making successful headway. The first Indian earth satellite Aryabhata, launched by Soviet carrier-rocket on April 19, 1975 put India among the space powers. Aryabhata was followed by Bhaskara and then by ESO.

The latter Sputnik, apart from the tasks of studying outer space, also pursued purely "terrestrial" tasks: it is meant, as indicated by its name, to study the earth's surface, observation of the surface of the ocean, the condition of snow blanket, forests and so on.

At the latest session of the Soviet-Indian commission on scientific and technical cooperation, held in January 1982, it was decided to study the possibilities of joint work on a number of new subjects, such as lasers, metallurgy, biotechnology, catalysis and so on. In the near future Soviet and Indian scientists will start work in these spheres.

—Science and Engineering

HUNDRED YEARS OF THE DISCOVERY OF TB BACILLUS

This year the World Health Organisation (WHO) has a raised most significant and burning issue related to health programmes: Tuberculosis. The issue needs immediate attention.

The paradox is that while small pox, that had existed from primitive times, has been completely eradicated, tuberculosis, the cure of which is fool proof since hundred years back, still remains a malady to health services.

According to Dr. K. Styblo, Director of Scientific Activities at the International Union Against Tuberculosis, tuberculosis is "still the cause of at least three million deaths every year, the world over. Each year there are four to five million needy, highly contagious cases and, on average, two out of three of these patients die within about two years. Considering that untreated cases result in death after approximately two years, by calculation one arrives at a total at any given

time, and for the whole world, of around ten million cases of tuberculosis, expectorating so many tubercle bacilli that they can be seen quite easily under the microscope".

In 1876, Robert Koch a thirty three year old German discovered the cause of Anthrax, a disease which decimated cattle herd. His paper entitled 'The Aetiology of Anthrax' brought him an international reputation. The work was followed by his second contribution on a new method of obtaining pure bacterial cultures on solid media like dry smear for the first time. In 1881 Koch demonstrated his method in a meeting in London, in presence of Louis Pasteur and at which Pasteur exclaimed "This is a great step forward".

On 24 March, 1882 Dr. Robert Koch announced his discovery of the bacillus which causes tuberculosis at a meeting of the Physiological Society of Berlin, Paul Ehrlich a famous physician present at the meeting describes the reporting by Koch on the Aetiology of tuberculosis to be his greatest scientific experience in life. Later on Koch published his work on April 10 in the journal Berlier Klinische Wochenschrift in which he postulated the importance of bacteriological examination for the diagnosis of tuberculosis. Even now his method remains applicable even when X-ray method produce often misleading results. He had also produced tuberculin, an extract of tubercle bacilli, used as diagnostic test of tuberculous infection. Later this test made it possible to measure the extent of infection through the world. Tuberculin was also applied for the remedies of the disease though with little success. Though the tuberculin was not effective as a remedial measure, its diagnostic importance is still admitted in calculating the risk of infection. Koch was awarded Nobel Prize for medicine in 1905 for his fight against tubercu-

losis. After the discovery of streptomycine in 1944 effective curative measure for tuberculosis became possible. By 1946-52, low cost drugs like para-aminosalicylic acid (PAS) and isoniazid (INH) treatment of the disease came down to ordinary people. From 1956 started BCG vaccine programme as a preventive measure. Consequently some more effective drugs against tuberculosis came out of which six are considered to be essential: Isoniazid, rifampicin, streptomycin, pyrazinamide, ethambutol and thiacetazone. It was also found that in many cases combination of these drugs, depending on the severity and distribution of pathogens in individual patients produce excellent results. It is claimed that anti-tuberculosis treatment lasted two years, a few years ago, but have now been reduced to one year, nine or even six months. However regularity in following treatment remains absolutely imperative claims WHO.

Professor Pierre Chaulet of the University of Algiers, who has been associated with his country's tuberculosis programme for quite a number of years, has recently said that there are several different ways to cure tuberculosis. Depending on the drugs used in various effective therapeutic regims, it is possible to cure 95 to 100% of cases at a cost of \$ 15 or \$ 250 worth of drugs. This difference is explained by the fact that certain, effective drugs, such as isoniazid streptomycin and thiacetazone are nowhere near as expensive as drugs such as rifampicin, pyrazinamide and ethambutol.

Our experience in India is that is not the cost of drugs which stands in the way for the treatment of tuberculosis, the main problem lies with the management. For the later cause what we actually need are: 1. Massive screening of the population to ensure the prevalence of tuberculosis in the country;

2. BCG vaccination must be made compulsory; 3. We use the hospitals specifically arranged for tuberculosis patients, but effort should be made through mass education that the disease may be treated keeping the patients along with their family. This will reduce the cost for hospitalization and give psychological support to patients; 4. tuberculosis is a disease which requires both medicine and special diet. The latter is very important too. However, due to sub-economical condition many of the patients remain without proper food. To tackle this problem elaborate arrangements should be made by the government or concerned agencies in collaboration with social organizations or rural health centres to distribute required food to patients till they are completely cured. Proper monitoring of the cases should also be done to evaluate the status of the prevalence of the disease from time to time. Apart from the above therapeutic measures as a whole preventive measures are to be made effective, since due to our economic and social conditions, the causes of TB being undernutrition, inadequate housing, poor hygiene, lack of water, lack of awareness of the real causes of ill health prevailing in the country.

As in the case of small pox, an exhaustive desire should immediately be undertaken by the government to eradicate tuberculosis too with top priority. For this a dead line should be worked out to ensure that by that time the disease may be completely eradicated. This is required not only for the cause of humanity, but also to wipe out a socio-economic burden.

It is in the context of the therapeutic and preventive measures, that the problem should be examined. Preventive measures require an overall economic progress to be envisaged by our planners, whereas the therapeutic measures

are not difficult to take in view of our general health programme.

World Health Organisation consisting of 156 Member States assembled in May 1981 adopted a strategy for attaining health for all and by 2000 A.D. One of the vital roles India can play by defeating TB is to execute the WHO programme partially within the present decade. We rightly honour Robert Koch and can celebrate the centenary of his great discovery in a befitting manner by a firm determination to eradicate TB from our country in no time.

—Science and Culture

PREHISTORIC CULTURES AT TIRUPATI CHITTOOR DISTRICT SOUTH INDIA

S. Bhaskar

The Indian Palaeolithic characterised by Lower, Middle and Upper Palaeolithic cultures is comparable to the Lower Palaeolithic of Africa and Europe. The Indian Lower Palaeolithic culture is represented by core tool assemblages unlike the flake tool cultures of the Middle and the Upper Palaeolithic. Also the Lower Palaeolithic culture differs with the latter two cultures in raw material, typotechnology and the size of the tools. Pebble tools and pebble-butted handaxes are usually found in the lowest coarse gravel at the bottom of river cliff deposits while the Acheulian handaxes and cleavers are in the succeeding finer gravels towards the top.

The District of Chittoor in which Tirupati is situated was archaeologically in dark till sixties of this century when Murty (1966) brought to light the artifactual evidence of Early Man of Palaeolithic to Mesolithic times from Renigunta near Tirupati. After this,

no work has been done till 1977 when Rami Reddy and the author (Reddy and Bhaskar, 1978, 1980) discovered late Acheulian sites at Maratipalem and Chintalapalem in Sri Kalahasti Taluk and the S. V. University Campus at Tirupati in Chandragiri Taluk. In the neighbouring districts many sites ranging from Lower Palaeolithic to Iron Age period were discovered by Cammiade and Burkitt (1930), Isaac (1960), Soundara Rajan (1958), Rami Reddy (1968, 1978), Rami Reddy and Bhaskar (1978, 1980 A & B) and Thimma Reddy (1968). The adjoining Kurnool District has yielded a fairly good sequence of lithic cultures and associated climatic conditions as worked out by Commiade and Burkitt. This sequence holds good for the whole of the southeast India.

The Chittoor District forms part of the southeast coast. Its small and large rivers like Swarnamukhi, Vanka kaluva, Kalyani, Kalangi, Palar etc., through their sedimentary deposits illustrate the environment of the region, in remote days. The western part of the district is a continuation of Mysore Plateau, and the eastern part is marked by the discontinuous remnants of the Eastern Ghats of which Tirupati hills are the most prominent.

The observation of the present day flora and fauna as well as water resources at and around the lithic sites suggest that in the remote past, the environmental conditions were fairly congenial for the survival and perpetuation of human population and culture.

During the author's exploration, two sites namely Kapilateertham and Satyanarayana Puram were discovered. These two sites lie on lat. $13^{\circ} 78'$ N, long. $79^{\circ} 19'$ E. The former site belongs to the Lower Palaeolithic and the latter to the Mesolithic period.

These two sites are about 1.5 km. apart from each other and lie at the eastern foot of the Tirupati range to the northwest of the Tirupati Town.

During the author's preliminary exploration in the vicinity of the area, a few big flakes were noticed. This inspired the author to search for tools intensively. Later a few artifacts were found from the dugouts made for the erection of electric poles. Further intensive search yielded 23 artifacts from all the four dugouts. This includes 3 flakes, 2 worked nodules, and a handaxe extracted out from their in situ position from the pebbly gravel at a depth of 3 to 5 feet. These trenches were dug upto the depth of 5 to 6 feet. The first layer from the top (about $3/4$ foot) contained humus and the second below it is composed of big to medium sized loosely packed waterworn pebbly gravel. The other artifacts picked up from the trenches are 8 massive and crude handaxes with large and deep flake scars, 2 cleavers, 3 worked nodules and 4 flakes.

All the artifacts are made on locally available light brown to dark brown coloured coarse to medium grained and medium sized waterworn pebbles. The tools show light brown to dark brown patina. They are fresh and unrolled which suggest that they have not been transported from long distances. The preliminary examination of the artifacts suggests that block-on-block and stone hammer techniques have been employed for their manufacture. These artifacts might have been used for collection of vegetable foods and also for cutting and cleaning the meat and skin of hunted animals. The pool and the waterfall might have served as local water reserve. However, no severe use marks or edge-wear are noticeable on the artifacts. On the basis of their morph-

hology these artifacts can be tentatively dated to the early phase of the Lower Palaeolithic period.

The other site namely Satyanarayana-puram belongs to the Mesolithic period from where eight microlithic artifacts were collected from the surface. The artifacts consist of two cores (one cylindrical and the other irregular), one backed blade, one crescent, and blades. All four artifacts are made on fine grained black shaded quartzite except the crescent and the irregular core, which are made on milky quartz. The artifacts are fresh, unrolled and unpatinated. They range from 1.6 to 3.5 cm. in length. It appears that the blades have been produced with pressure technique.

On the consideration of typotechnology and sizes, these artifacts can be placed in the Mesolithic period. Similar Mesolithic tools from other parts of India are dated to post pleistocene period ; 8,000 to 10,000 B.P.

—Panjab University
Bulletin

PLANNING OF TRAINING IN THE THIRD WORLD DIFFERENCES IN CONDITIONS AND THE PROBLEMS OF THE THIRD WORLD

The Third World countries, and especially the African countries, are by no means familiar with all the circumstances that have led the Western nations to become disenchanted with the planning of training. The rate of demographic growth in the Third World is still very rapid and the rise in school attendance figures (especially secondary and higher) is meteoric. Many of these countries are only just emerging from a situation in which there was a shortage of skilled manpower : they still need

to build up modern and efficient administrations and to provide the necessary managerial staff for their budding industries ; at the same time they wish to gradually replace foreign expatriate manpower by nationals. Their modern sector is still weak and, even if its rate of growth is rapid, it offers only limited employment opportunities.

Under the dual thrust of social pressure and economic necessities which are often overestimated, an ever-rising tide of school leavers pours onto the employment market in the form of educated (but often ill-trained) manpower. This results in a more or less rapid transition from a state of shortage to one of over-all surplus which is all the more serious and lasting in that the needs are growing much more slowly than at first, the dynamics of the educational system are difficult to modify and social demand is stimulated by individual recollections of past circumstances (when there was a shortage). This state of over-all surplus of educated personnel frequently conceals inadequate quality, serious distortions between levels and types of education and a shortage of the strategic categories of manpower : the scholastic pyramid is too weak at the base and often top-heavy : imbalances in favour of arts subjects persist while some types of technical training are still neglected.

Two different responses to this situation seem to us to be over-extreme. In some countries the educational authorities abandon middle-school technical education altogether, claiming that it is outside their competence and too costly (which is partly true.) However, if no one takes responsibility for it, there will be a total lack of skilled workers. Others, on the other hand, believing that the root of all evil is the over-general nature of education, think they have found the univer-

sal remedy in its "vocationalisation." What they forget is that the creation of technicians and skilled workers does not suffice to create the corresponding jobs and merely gives mediocre and expensive training for unemployment.

DIFFERENT TYPES OF EDUCATION AND TRAINING

The debate on planning and the role of economic objectives seems to be practically devoid of content if a distinction is made between general education and vocational training.

The growth of general education (numbers of pupils and years of schooling) must be determined not by specific manpower needs but by an over-all view of the development process, taking mainly into account the country's demographic prospects, social aspirations, type of development and economic and financial possibilities, and the need to maintain a rational balance between different levels of education.

Two points should also be stressed. First, a rejection of planning in the name of "individual freedom of choice" results necessarily in a favouring of the upper income groups, who benefit more from higher education and constitute a more powerful pressure group than those who have not even received a primary schooling. Secondly, development has never been achieved from the top but has always started at the bottom. Comparison of the scholastic pyramids of the industrial nation in the early stages of their development and those of the Third World at the present time is instructive in this regard: whatever their political system, countries as different as France, Japan and the USSR did not open up wide opportunities for secondary and higher education until primary schooling

had been made available to all; conversely, in many countries of the Third World there is very high selectivity (based largely on socio-cultural criteria) in the first years of schooling, but a relatively high proportion of pupils going on to secondary or higher education.

It is quite clear that this is above all a political problem, which must be settled through general planning and not solely through the "manpower approach."

The situation is different for technical education and vocational training. By definition, they have an occupational purpose and must be oriented towards certain categories of jobs. It would be inconceivable, therefore, in their case to renounce all planning under the pretext that economic needs are too difficult to foresee or that the correspondence between training and employment can be neither precise nor rigid.

This is a problem which is very real for the authorities of the Third World countries who, frequently with external assistance, seek to invest in training and have to decide on the order of priority of the various levels and types of training, and their scale and orientation. Whatever their political system and level of development, in one way or another they have to go in for some form of planning. In the present context, they are all the more helpless to do this in that, between the persistent illusion that solutions can be found in formulas and ratios on the one hand and the total scepticism of the industrial nations on the other, no realistic operational approach is proposed to them.

These various considerations lead us to argue in favour of an approach to the analysis and forecasting of the relationship between training and employment based on technical training, yet taking a comprehensive view, adopting a fairly long-term outlook and

emphasising quantitative as well as qualitative factors.

A COMPREHENSIVE VIEW

In countries where the modern sector of the economy employs scarcely more than 10 to 25 per cent of the economically active population, it would be unreasonable to limit one's horizon to the activities of this sector and to ignore the fact that the main problem is generally that of putting an end to under-employment and rural-urban migration through better utilisation of human resources. On the other hand, the traditional and "informal" (or non-structured) sectors are often little known and for the moment use very little "skilled" manpower (i.e. manpower systematically trained over a certain period). None the less, the divisions between these activities are neither hermetic nor immovable and training may have to be adapted for the development of informal activities.

Accordingly, planning should be carried out on two levels. On the first, comprehensive planning should bear in mind the informal sector (which implies that it should be better known). It involves, in particular, comparing the increase in manpower resources corresponding to the entry of young persons (school leavers or others) into the employment market, after deducting people quitting economic activity (owing to retirement or death), and the prospects for creating additional jobs. Even if the numbers involved are only known approximately, this simple comparison reveals a dramatic imbalance in many countries, particularly between the outflow of school leavers and the creation of jobs in the modern sector. Since it is in this sector that the school leavers are still supposed to find jobs, a major

problem arises with reference to the development model and the orientation of the training system.

The second level relates to the training and placement of skilled manpower. It is this level in particular which concerns us, but it cannot be dealt with validly if one ignores the first and reciprocal relations between the modern, traditional and informal sectors.

In any event, even if the analysis is limited to trained manpower and "skilled" jobs, a comprehensive approach is still necessary. Analyses limited to levels of education (e.g. higher education) or related groups of jobs would disregard the complementary nature of different types of training and major possibilities of substituting one for another, and would thus be subject to greater risk of error. Likewise, analyses focused on one branch of activity or a single development project would disregard the intersectoral character of many jobs.

I.L.O.

INVESTMENTS FOR THE BENEFIT OF MAN

As the economic indicators of developed capitalist countries are deteriorating, Western economists battles about Keynesianism and Monetarism are becoming more and more fierce. Though Isaac Newton said in his time that the truth always lies in the middle of the road between two extremes, even his inimitable genius of thinking would probably be unable to find Ariadne's clue of thread in the labyrinth of old and new ideas. The science of the market economy, founded by Adam Smith, is a real mess now, with numerous prophets replacing one another on the porch.

Neither Keynesianism nor Monetarism has

proved to be a panacea for the market economy. Inflation continues galloping at a fast pace and the economies of a majority of Western countries are stumbling down pell-mell under the buffets of stagnation. A hybrid of these two sad phenomena has been named 'stagflation,' a term John Galbraith has called an abuse of the English language. In the OECD countries the number of jobless is nearing the thirty-million mark. Judging by the results of 1981, the situation in this field is the hardest in Britain and the United States where monetarism has been elevated to the rank of the national policy.

The most competent economists, including Noble Prize winners, express the apprehension that there is something unscientific in the enthusiasm with which the US and British governments are attacking social programmes which allegedly slow down business activity. The most pragmatic of the American statesmen, Franklin D. Roosevelt, is being more and more frequently remembered today. In the years of the great depression, FDR managed to take the gaint ship of the American economy off the reels. In the 1930s FDR's program of aid to the poor, which provided for the introduction of a system of allowances, social security grants and unemployment benefits, among other measures, helped to lower the social temperature in the United States.

A year ago President Reagan announced that his administration had a formula to redress the American economy—a sort of "philosophical stone" alchemists were looking for in the middle ages. It is only natural that Reagan's economic alchemy has not produced positive results for it is impossible to lower taxes while inflating military expenditure immeasurably and balance the federal budget at the same time. As for cutbacks in social

spending, they produce only imaginary saving of means, resulting immediately in the deterioration of economic indicator and the growth of the number of people beyond the poverty line. (According to official statistics, thirty million Americans have already crossed this line.) Cutting down federal allocations on education, job training and medical assistance to the poor (Reagan's "budgetary vivisection" has already affected 250 social programmes.), the administration reduces the country's social capital. In the near future this will have a negative effect upon America's productive forces. It is common knowledge that investments made for the benefit of man largely determine any country's economic level.

The dynamism of the Soviet economy which is building up its potential steadily and without crises is due, above all, to its social orientation. The USSR has long become convinced that improvements in the living standards, working and everyday conditions and better opportunity for rest and recreation are both a humane and effective means to resolve not only social but purely production problems.

As Leonid Brezhnev stressed in his report at the 26th Congress of the CPSU, growing interconnection between economic and social progress is typical of the current stage in the development of Soviet society. This predetermines the leading place of social programmes in the Eleventh Five-year Plan (1981-1985). Allocations on health protection, education, social insurance and other social needs are to be increased by 23 per cent, while capital investments in the national economy will grow by 10.4 per cent. Thus, in the USSR social capital grows 2.3 times quicker than the volume of purely production investments. This is the deepest structural change in the economy which points to the continued

absolutization of the priority of social programmes.

There has been not a single instance of reducing the real incomes of Soviet citizens for several decades now. In spite of the droughts in three straight years—1979, 1980 and 1981, the well-being of the people continued to be steadily improved. In 1981, for instance, the real incomes of the population in per capita terms went up by 3.3 per cent. The material conditions of 4,500,000 families with many children were improved; fourteen million people got rises in pensions; ten million people moved to a better housing because two million new flats were built.

—Background

CONVOCATION ADDRESS OF UPACHARYA

It is exactly sixty years ago, when Tagore himself was sixty, that Visva-Bharati was formally inaugurated as an international centre of higher learning, with its own distinctive objects and ideals.

This period of sixty years itself falls into two equal halves, Visva-Bharati having been constituted as a Central university under the Government of India thirty years ago. A comprehensive amendment of the Visva-Bharati Act of 1951 is currently under consideration and we trust that a new Act will emerge before long. To contain Tagore's institution within the limits and structure of a conventional University Act is no easy task. We hope that the framers of the new Act will bring to this task the scrupulous care and imagination that it deserves.

Tagore was a great synthesiser. Three

different aspects of this concept of synthesis may be specially noted. When, at the turn of this century, he established his famous school at Santiniketan, one of the key ideas, which became a cornerstone of his new experiment, was the idea of accepting the tie between the child and nature, and the rich sense of wonder and the instinct for exploration that derive sustenance from it, as the basis of education. During the next two decades the horizons of Tagore's educational efforts expanded and when Visva-Bharati was inaugurated in 1921, the proclaimed objective was "to study the mind of Man in its realisation of different aspects of truth from diverse points of view" and, more specifically, "to seek to realise in a common fellowship of study the meeting of the East and the West." Soon after when the Institute for Rural Reconstruction was set up at Sriniketan, the principal idea was to promote rural development and thus to overcome the alienation between towns and villages. A moment's reflection will reveal that these three aspects of the idea of synthesis are, in fact, complementary; they mutually support one another and find their fulfilment in a larger philosophy of humanism, which Rabindranath called the Religion of man. It is equally worth remembering that Tagore himself was an extraordinarily dynamic person and that the unity of the different elements in his conception of synthesis was, and could only be, a moving and not a static unity. On us has devolved the responsibility of seeking to realise Tagore's integral philosophy in new and often difficult circumstances. It is a privilege to have to bear the burden of that precious legacy, but it is a burden which a university cannot carry alone. It needs the support and the sympathy of all people and people of all sorts. This includes the government, but not the government only. On the occasion of this Annual Convocation, one of

my first duties, therefore, is to make an appeal for co-operation to all concerned...

Tagore believed in science as a powerful aid to rural reconstruction. This includes both the physical and the life sciences, on the one hand, which are so essential for increased farm productivity, and the social sciences, on the other hand, which are expected to guide our way to a better co-operative organisation of rural communities at rising cultural levels. Paili Charcha Kendra, as a centre of social science research, would collect and systematise the kind of information which might help Paili Samgathana Vibhaga to understand better the obstacles to rural development and suggest way to overcome them...

I turn now to another very distinctive part of this university. Rabindra Bhavana is an essential limb of Visva-Bharati and one of its best-known institutions. It includes a museum of international importance, a library and archives, various sections for preservation and other allied activities, and an expanding range of research by our own scholars as well as guest scholars with special attention to Rabindranath and His Age. Rabindra Bhavana, with these varied and specialised activities, had to do in the past without a whole-time Director. This strange omission of the past has now been rectified. The post of a whole-time Director for Rabindra Bhavana has been created, thanks again to the University Grants Commission, and the post has been filled up recently. Rabindra Bhavana, let us hope, is now on the threshold of a new period of progress. Again, I do not expect the process to be free of difficulties. In trying to move, we expose ourselves to criticism. But it will be wrong to take the far greater risks of stagnation. ...

Visva-Bharati was conceived as an international university, generously offering its

hospitality to scholars from all corners of India and the world. A programme of Visiting Fellowships and Visiting Professorships is, therefore, essential for the realisation of its ideals....

During the last year, we have been trying to work out a special course in Tagore studies. Once ready, we intend to introduce it, perhaps with some variations, for all students. People understandably expect students of Visva-Bharati to have special acquaintance with the thoughts of Tagore. Such acquaintance is expected to provide our students with a right orientation towards life and many contemporary problems of India and the world. We have made a fair amount of progress towards evolving such a course of studies for students of Visva-Bharati and we hope to be able to introduce it in the near future.

We have made some advance towards evolving a common yet flexible course on Tagore studies for all our students. We attach special importance to a comparative study of Indian literature. That is one way in which we can pay our homage to Tagore and make our small contribution towards the integration of the diverse cultures of India.

—VISVA-BHARATI

EXCERPTS FROM OLD DIARY LEAVES BY HENRY. S. OLCOTT

1882

In my travels over India and Ceylon I had been observing places, people, and climates, with a view to selecting the best place for a permanent Headquarters for the Society. Liberal offers of houses, free of rent, had been made us in Ceylon, and, certainly, the Island presented a most charming appearance to one seeking an Asian home; but several considera-

tions, led us to choose India in preference. Up to the present time, however, no good property had been offered us, and we had made no definite plans. On 31st May, however, we two were begged by Judge Muttuswamy's sons to go and look at a property that was to be had cheap. We were driven to Adyar, and at the first glance knew that our future home was found. The palatial building, its two riverside smaller bungalows, its brick-and-mortar stables, coach-house, godowns (store-rooms), and swimming-bath; its avenue of ancient mango and banyan trees, and its larger plantation of casuarinas made up an enchanting country residence, while the price asked—Rs. 9,000 odd, or about £600—was so modest, in fact, merely nominal, as to make the project of its purchase seem feasible even for us. We accordingly decided to take it, and in due course this was effected by the noble help of P. Iyaloo Naidu and Judge Muttuswamy Chetty, the first of whom advanced part of the money and the other secured a loan of the rest on very easy terms. An appeal, was at once issued for subscriptions, and within the next year I had the satisfaction of being able to pay it all off, and receive the title-deeds.

'I PREFER IT ABOVE THE OTHERS'

People glibly speak of Madras as the Benighted Presidency; and as being insufferably hot. The fact is, however, that as to Sanskrit Literature and Aryan Philosophy, it is the most enlightened of the Indian Presidencies; there are more learned Pandits in the villages, and the educated class, as a whole, have been less spoilt by Western education. In Bengal and Bombay there are more *litterateurs* of the class of Telang and Bhandarkar, but I cannot recall one equal to To Subba Row, of Madras, in bright genius for grasping the spirit of the Ancient Wisdom. And his being at Madras was one of the causes of

our fixing upon that Presidency town for our official residence.

The main building at Adyar is nearly 1000 feet square; there are six large rooms and the Convention Hall (100x28) on the ground floor, and when we moved there, there were one large and one very small room upstairs; the rest brick-and-cement terrace. The large room upstairs was used by H. P. B. as her bedroom, a piece curtained off from which made her sitting-room. I put up a temporary kitchen for her at the N. W. corner of the roof, and the little room over the stairs was given to Damodar. My quarters were in a detached, one-storied brick bungalow in the grounds, distant a hundred yards from the house....

PLANNING, MEASURING, AND CALCULATING'

On my return home, 'Anande' and I spent a good deal of time in planning, measuring, and calculating the cost of the alterations of the house-front and portecochere, which resulted in making the present Convention Hall. According to our closest ciphering we thought it could be done for Rs. 2,500, whereas the plan approved at the previous Convention for a separate building called for an outlay of about Rs. 15,000. The approval of our resident councillors, Messrs. R. Raghocnath Row, P. Srinivasa Row, and T. Subba Row, having been obtained, workmen were set to breaking ground the very next day, and from that time onward they were driven at a rate of speed more often seen in America than in slowmoving India. The foundations and retaining walls were built, the earth-filling done, the marble steps transferred to the outside of the extension, a temporary roof of posts and palm-leaves lined with white cotton cloth constructed, decorations made ready for occupancy within twenty-seven days—deducting four days when it rained

heavily. The Convention met at the usual time (December 27) in its own premises, and all the delegates expressed their complete satisfaction...

'BOOKS FOR THE ADYAR LIBRARY'—1887

Repairs and constructions, the buying of books for the Library, and other domestic matters took up a good deal of my time. We have excellent chances at Madras for buying books at nominal prices, as there are many book sales throughout the year; some of the large British booksellers get rid of their surplus stock in this way, and there are always sales of private libraries being held. I have bought books worth £ 25 for less than the same number of rupees, and I do not think I have had to pay even as much as a rupee each on the average for the several thousand volumes I have put on the shelves of the Adyar Library. As for our 3,000 or so of old palm-leaf MSS., we have got them for nothing or next to nothing by the kind help of our South Indian members.... 1889

Having made it widely known that I would thankfully accept gifts of books for the Adyar Library, kind friends and sympathizers daily brought such gifts, until by the time of my departure from Japan I had an accumulation of some 1,500 volumes. Included in these was the entire collection of the Tripitikas, over 300 volumes, formerly belonging to a deceased High Priest of the Jo-do sect. This was a very valuable present, as it enables one who knows both Pali and Japanese to compare the texts of the Northern and Southern Canons. Already we have had this done to some extent by Japanese priest-students who were guests at Adyar, but the real work is still to be done, and great results ought to come out of it....

'THIS EXECUTIVE AND SPIRITUAL CENTRE'—1890

Our evenings have always been pleasantly spent in dry weather on the pavement-like terrace roof of the main building, where, on

moonlit or starlit nights, we have the glory of the heavens to look at and the ocean breezes to cool us.

In the month of December I suggested to the late Mr. Tookaram Tatya, of Bombay, a scheme to transfer the Adyar property to the Adyar Library, and have him endow it with the sum of Rs. 50,000, which he had long told me he intended to give the Society. My reasons were that by so doing we should give the Library a permanent existence after my death, and despite all chances and changes; the Society to retain, free of rent, as much room in the house and grounds as might be needed for Headquarters business. Even now, after the lapse of ten years, I think the idea a good one, for the Library is tenfold more valuable to-day than it was then; and if we should enlarge it, as proposed, into an Oriental Institute, increase the staff of Pandits, organize series of lectures on the different schools of philosophy and religion, and need classrooms, then it would be indispensable that the Library should be put above beyond all possible contingencies which could be anticipated.

1895

On the 21st March I received a letter from Mrs Besant and the Countess suggesting the expansion of my old idea of class-teaching by renowned pandits of students attracted to us by the Adyar Library. They proposed that I should found an Oriental institute in connection with the Library and this scheme I have been keeping in mind ever since. Recently, however, it has been urged by Babu Govinda Das, himself an able Orientalist, that to have only classes to be taught by renowned pandits in the different *darshanas*, or schools of Indian philosophy, would benefit but a very small number of persons, besides being very costly; it would be more useful to spend the money on the publication of valuable books, treatises, and reprints of rare works in our possession as these could be sent to all parts of world and benefit many hundreds...